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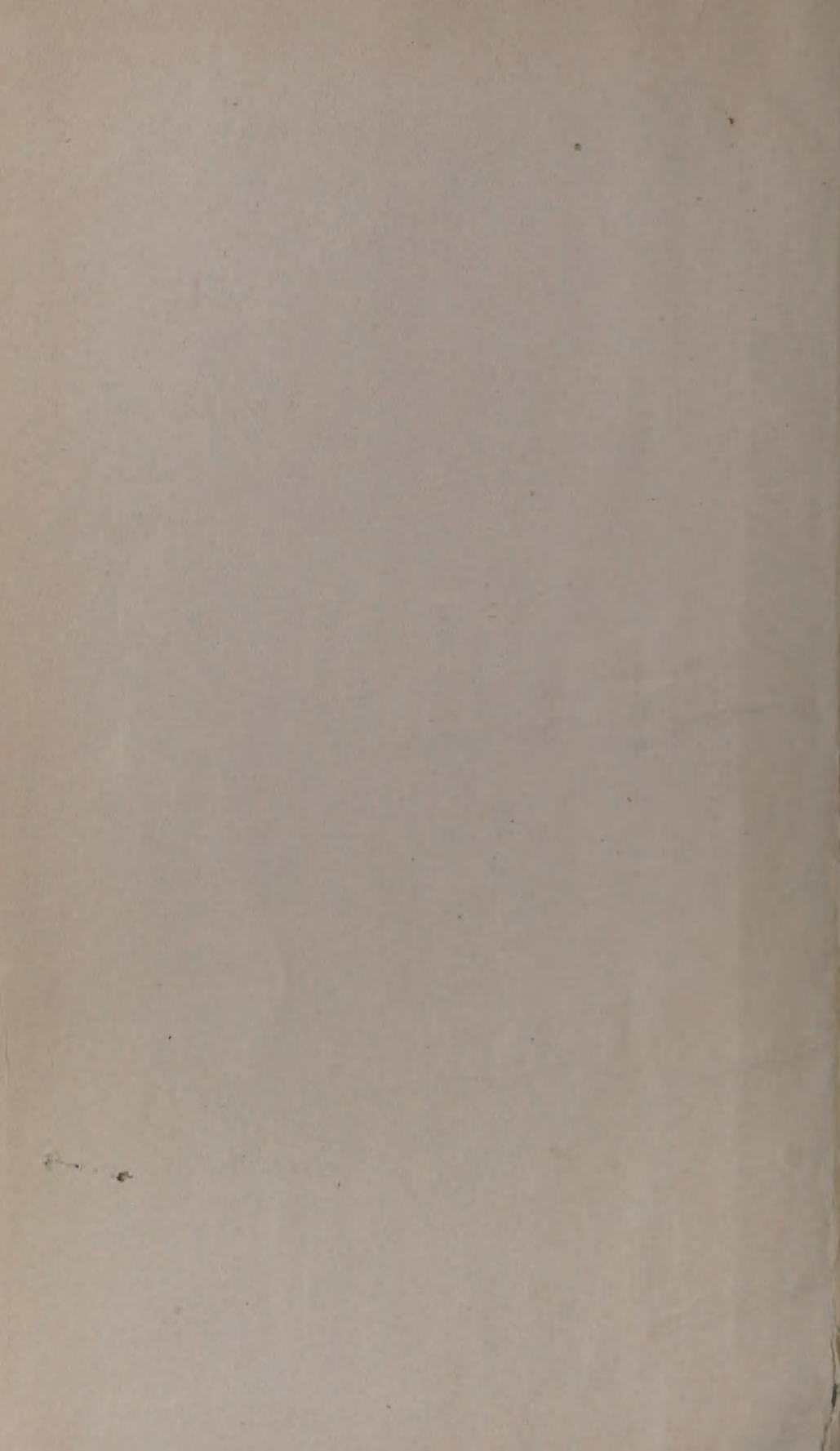
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KEY-BOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY

C. B. FRY, M.A. (OXON.)

ASSISTANT TO THE DELEGATE REPRESENTING THE RULING PRINCES OF INDIA
ON THE INDIAN DELEGATION TO THE ASSEMBLIES
OF 1920, 1922, 1923

WITH A CHAPTER ON
THE DISARMAMENT QUESTION

BY

H.H. PRINCE RANJITSINHJI, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

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The idea of graphical exposition would, perhaps, not have occurred to the Author had he not, some years ago, been privileged to see the remarkable methods used by Mr. Marshall Bruce Williams.

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I

WHAT IS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

THE purpose of this book is to convey what the League of Nations is as an international instrument; to explain the machinery which has been set up to realise its aims; to show how that machinery works; and, by examining some results already secured, to leave the mind of the reader satisfied that the League's machinery has, by the actual handling of tasks entrusted to it, proved itself to be practical, efficient, and of a flexibility capable of achieving its purpose.

Any Englishman, or Frenchman, or Spaniard, or Indian, or Australian who thinks of the League as something separate and distinct from England, France, Spain, India or Australia is thinking erroneously.

Just as a lawn-tennis club *is* its members, qualified by their intention to play the game and to obey the rules of the game and of the club, so the League of Nations *is* its Member-States, qualified by their declared and signed intention of acting and behaving internationally in accordance with the constitution, the principles and the practice laid down in the Covenant of the League.

And just as a lawn-tennis club must not be pictured as a demi-god in a flannel shirt living at Wimbledon, so the League of Nations must not be looked upon as a super-national entity, or any other kind of *separate* entity, with a habitat at Geneva.

2 WHAT IS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

When we say that the League has done this or that, we are speaking in a way which is conveniently incorrect; properly, we should say that the Governments of the Member-States of the League have done this or that by means of the League. The convenient practice of using such phrases as "the League did this" is perhaps a main cause of the misconception that the League is something other than the nations which form the League, acting through their Delegates.

It is often urged that the League of Nations is not *really* a league of Nations, but a league of Governments. But how can a nation better express its collective will than through the representative Government to which it has delegated its authority and which it maintains in power? And, in this connection, it must be remembered that one of the essential conditions which a State must fulfil in order to become a Member of the League of Nations is that it must be fully self-governing.

Another argument often used against the League of Nations is that, being an organisation originally set up by the victors of the World War of 1914-1918, its system of machinery must, of necessity, tend always to operate in their favour. The numerous achievements accomplished by the League during the few short years since its creation have, however, proved this fear to be baseless. Even the late President Harding, who could not be accused of partiality to the League, was impelled to declare with regard to the Permanent Court of International Justice, *elected through the League's machinery*, that "none better, none freer from selfish, partisan, national or racial prejudices or influences can be obtained."

That the League of Nations has not faced and solved all the international problems which, since the

League's creation, have been agitating the world, is sometimes brought forward as a proof of inherent weakness. But what sort of critic is he who, in deciding on the incapability of an organisation to do work, disregards the actual work which that organisation has already successfully accomplished?

It is true that some of the very nations which helped to create the League have refused to submit important international interests to the League's arbitrament. And this is very often cited as convincing evidence either that the creators of the League, themselves, have no faith in its ability to deal with really important problems, or that, from the beginning, they never intended to allow an independent international body to share in the settlement of matters affecting their own vital interests. But such criticism mistakes both the intention and the character of the League.

In the League of Nations the world has, for the first time, a system of permanent, international co-operation, so novel and so radically different from the system of devices and from the ultimate basis of force which, hitherto, have been the sole means of meeting international difficulties, that nations are naturally cautious in entrusting their destinies, beyond the measure which the test of practical experience warrants, even to an organisation which they themselves have set up. But confidence in the League of Nations machinery is every day increasing as problem after problem is solved by it, and as a habit of thinking and co-operating internationally is progressively acquired.

No claim is made, and such a claim would be foolish on behalf of any institution, that the machinery of the League is perfect and cannot be improved; but it may certainly be said that true improvements can

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only be brought about by the actual utilisation of the existing machinery. In fact, such improvements have already been introduced, and, without doubt, will continue to be introduced as the League extends its operations and widens its experience.

II

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE actual organisation of the League of Nations can be readily understood from an examination of its detail. But the spirit which drives and directs that mechanism, and which gave birth to its special design, can be grasped only through a study of the Covenant.

What does the Covenant, with its aims and objects, and its various provisions, tell us? It tells of a spirit superior to all national and class interests—the Spirit of Humanity—emerging serene and dominant from the slaughter-pit of universal war, constant in its purpose of building up a new world from the ruins of the old.

It reveals that spirit in the act of creating, in its own image, an organisation whereby just, humane and peaceful dealing is made the rule of intercourse between nations and classes; whereby, through a Permanent Court of International Justice with a Statute ratified by co-operating nations, the Golden Rule becomes progressively embodied in a Code of International Law, supported by the authority of the League and the moral sanction of the world.

The Preamble to the Covenant proclaims :

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war;
by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations;
by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and
by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,
Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

And Article 23 of the Covenant states that the Members of the League

will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations.¹

To carry out, in its entirety, the programme thus outlined, a structure of fundamental simplicity is created. A trinity of interacting institutions is set up: the International Labour Organisation, bearing the olive-branch of Social Peace; the Central Executive Organisation of the League, promoting International Co-opera-

¹ The organisation here foreshadowed was considered by the Peace Conference, which, accordingly, drafted a Labour Section and incorporated it as Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, and as Parts XIII, XII, XIII and XII respectively of the Treaties of St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon and Sévres. That Labour Section defines the constitution of the *International Labour Organisation* and, as regards Membership, Finance and Sanction, establishes that the *International Labour Organisation*, although autonomous, can have no existence separate from the League as set up by the Covenant.

tion and guarding Universal Peace; and the Permanent Court of International Justice, holding the scales of Equity to establish in perpetuity the principle and practice of International Concord as incorporated in a body of International Law, recognised, and subscribed to, by all the co-operating Member-States.

Such in outline is the organisation, and the significance, of the League of Nations.

The actual creation of the League of Nations, as a practical and workable organisation, was an extremely difficult task. Certainly the League would not have been instituted at the Paris Conference, nor would the Covenant have been embodied in the Peace Treaties which concluded the World War, but for the fact that Governments realised the complete futility—which would have become an historic futility—of making Treaties formally to end the War without also making a concrete attempt to eliminate, as far as possible, from international relations the causes which lead to war.

Whether some of those concerned in the intensely practical difficulties of settling the Treaties were political idealists or not, the fact remains that it was just as practical to provide for the preservation of peace as it was to provide for the formal termination of the War.

The League of Nations was the institution accepted as the best means that could be devised to meet the situation; a way had to be found, and no one could find a better. Hence, whatever criticism may be made of the League, it certainly cannot be said to be unpractical in origin or to be the product of theoretical idealists. The men who made and signed the Covenant were men—some of them in supreme positions—whom their countries, fighting for existence, had selected to assist in conducting the war.

If it be idealism to assume—and the League precisely *does not* do so—that war can be entirely eradicated from international relations, it is not idealism to assume, as the League *does*, that in proportion as the causes of war are eliminated the foundations of peace will be strengthened.)

The nations of the world have, in truth, far more interests in common than they have divergencies of interest. By unceasingly serving these common interests, the League of Nations is proving itself to be a great central international organ working always towards the elimination of War by the continual development of Peace.

To comprehend fully the League's activities as a whole it is necessary to pay due attention to the following details of first-class importance.

The Constitution of the International Labour Organisation is not mentioned in the Covenant because it is set out fully in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, of which the Covenant itself forms Part I. In the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation are found the following provisions :

“Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace and such peace can be established only if it is based on social justice; and whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; the HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following :

“ A permanent organisation is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth . . .

“ Membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it Membership of the said organisation.”

There is a second point worthy of particular notice. Nowhere does the high purpose and the inflexible determination to “ make good,” manifested in the Covenant, appear so clearly as in the “ chains,” or sequences, of its provisions. (Thus, disputes eluding Arbitration are promptly shepherded into a network of Mediation, of Enquiry and Public Report, of Judicial Procedure, or, in the last resort, of Penalisation. The most striking “ chain ” of all concerns the establishment of a new International Order by which the Member-States of the League are solemnly bound : (1) to revise old Treaties where they conflict with the spirit of the Covenant, (2) to make all new Treaties conform with the Covenant, (3) to submit all disputed interpretations of Treaties to judicial settlement, (4) to keep the letter and the spirit of existing Treaties, (5) to make public every Treaty on its conclusion by registration at the League’s Secretariat, and (6) to refuse recognition to all (new) Treaties not so made public and registered.)

The bonds of this notable “ chain ” are in themselves almost capable of linking up the whole world into an organism of co-operation and goodwill.

The Covenant, like every other legal document, being designed for practical purposes and not for logical exposition, is difficult to survey in its numerous and heterogeneous provisions. The casual reader may easily miss their full significance. Therefore these provisions have, in this book, been rearranged. They have been set forth in seven homogeneous groups,

following each other in logical sequence, which can be readily memorised or used for quick reference.

GROUP I. Naturally, the *Aims and Principles* of the Covenant come first, with the *List of Signatories* thereto.

GROUP II follows with the *Constitutional Machinery* necessary for carrying those aims and principles into effect.

GROUP III logically records *Procedure for Setting the Constitutional Machinery in Motion*.

GROUP IV. It is here that the work commences for which the machinery is designed. Peace being the main objective of the League, measures dealing with the settlement of disputes are concentrated in this Group, *i. e.* measures of *Arbitration, Mediation, Enquiry, and Judicial Procedure*.

GROUP V. Affairs beyond the region of mere disputes, *i. e.* *Aggression, Treaty-breaking, Threats of War, Wars and Armaments*, are taken next in order and dealt with in this Group.

GROUP VI. The field being cleared of disputes, threats and violence, the *Causes* leading to such discord remain to be dealt with. For this reason all counter measures to wrongful conditions in *Commerce, Industry and Finance, in Health, Morals and Intellectual Work* are concentrated in this Group.

GROUP VII contains what is left over: provisions for the coding of all the efforts for just and peaceful dealing between nations and classes in a body of *International Law* recognised by all Member-States of

the League and administered by a *Permanent Court of International Justice*.

Through this grouping the Covenant ¹ can be easily grasped, and its relation to the Organisation and Activity of the League be understood from the root upwards.

¹ The full text of the Covenant, arranged in Group Form, will be found on pp. 139-172 of this volume.

III

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS GENERAL STRUCTURE IN OUTLINE

THE machinery contained in the organisations of the League of Nations provides the first and only mechanism whereby international questions, covering the whole range of human activities, can be tackled with the indispensable fullness of up-to-date knowledge, and the international authority upon which must be based the power to carry into effect international measures. No other machinery exists, which can take its place, to deal with the thousand and one questions which bear upon the peaceful relations between nations, the suppression of causes of international conflict, the administration of international justice, the betterment of the conditions of daily life throughout the world, the standard of government of subject races, the protection of racial and religious minorities in various States of the world, and the numerous international economic, financial, humane and social interests which, unless properly and continuously safeguarded, are causes of discontent and potential sources of conflict.

Its operative machinery enables the League of Nations to get at the actual realities of any international problem with which it may be faced, and to approach the solution with a knowledge and a spirit of conciliation and justice which may not be found in any Chancellery, no matter how efficiently organised in the interests of one particular nation.

In many directions the machinery of the League of Nations has already to its credit achievements that could never have been accomplished by the old Diplomacy, which, by its very nature, is inclined to move slowly and to be narrow, suspicious and biased in its methods.

The machinery of the League of Nations, on the other hand, enables an international question to be studied in a truly international manner, and to be discussed in a truly international spirit. And there is no better way of realising the real strength and potentiality of the League of Nations than to understand the carefully designed and the soundly established organisations by means of which its work is effected.

The League of Nations was created "in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." Its authority is derived from the Member-States of the League, which have bound themselves solemnly to observe the purposes and provisions of the Covenant¹ forming the Constitution of the League.

The machinery of the League, as will be seen, is fully adequate to deal with any international problem that may arise. The basic power for the full operation of the machinery is, however, supplied by the Member-States themselves, individually and collectively. Therefore the results secured by the machinery are, and always will be, in exact proportion to the measure of the support given by the Governments of the different Member-States.

¹ The Covenant, or Constitution, of the League of Nations is contained in the Peace Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly, of each of which Treaties it constitutes the First Part.

In this book the machinery of the League of Nations is presented both graphically and descriptively. This dual presentation facilitates the study of any Organisation of a more or less complex nature. The diagrams enable the reader to see, as a whole, and at a single glance, the various parts of the Organisation and their inter-relation.

Without the diagrams the reader would have to memorise the many details of the Organisation, and make a considerable mental effort to visualise the



FIG. 1.—Elemental Organisation Diagram.

exact relation to one another of these details, in order that he might have a correct conception of the Organisation as a whole, and of the exact function of each part.

An *Organisation Diagram* must show to the eye (1) the source from which the Organisation derives its authority, and (2) how that authority is delegated and concentrated for work. A *Triangle* resting upon a *Base* pictures very clearly these two essentials of an *Organisation Diagram* (see Fig. 1).

Fig. 1 shows (1) the broad Base which represents the Authority on which the Organisation rests; and

(2) the Delegated Authority. This is between converging lines because the authority is concentrated.

This form of *Organisation Diagram*, being the simplest and clearest available, is adopted throughout the book.

If there should be within one single Organisation, two or three autonomous Organisations deriving their delegated authority from the same source, the Organisation Diagrams would assume the forms shown in Figs. 2 and 3 respectively.

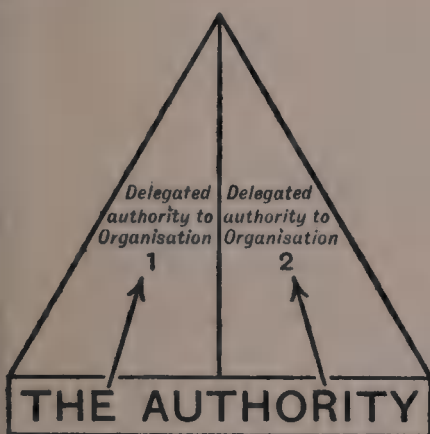


FIG. 2.—Elemental Organisation Diagram of two autonomous Organisations forming part of one single Organisation, and receiving their delegated power from the same authority.

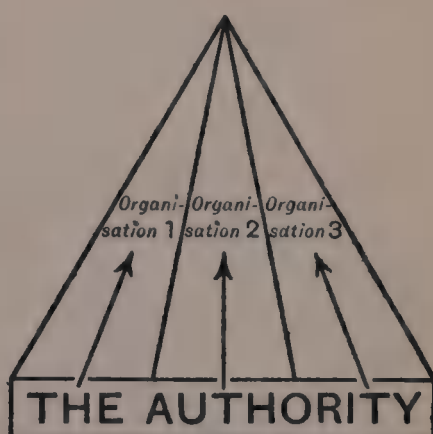


FIG. 3.—Elemental Organisation Diagram of three autonomous Organisations receiving their delegated power directly from the same authority.

The complete machinery of the League of Nations comprises :

A CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANISATION, with Two CO-OPERATIVE WINGS.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANISATION, which contains what are usually called the "Main Organs" of the League, consists of :

- (1) An *Assembly* of Delegates of all Member-States meeting at least once a year ;

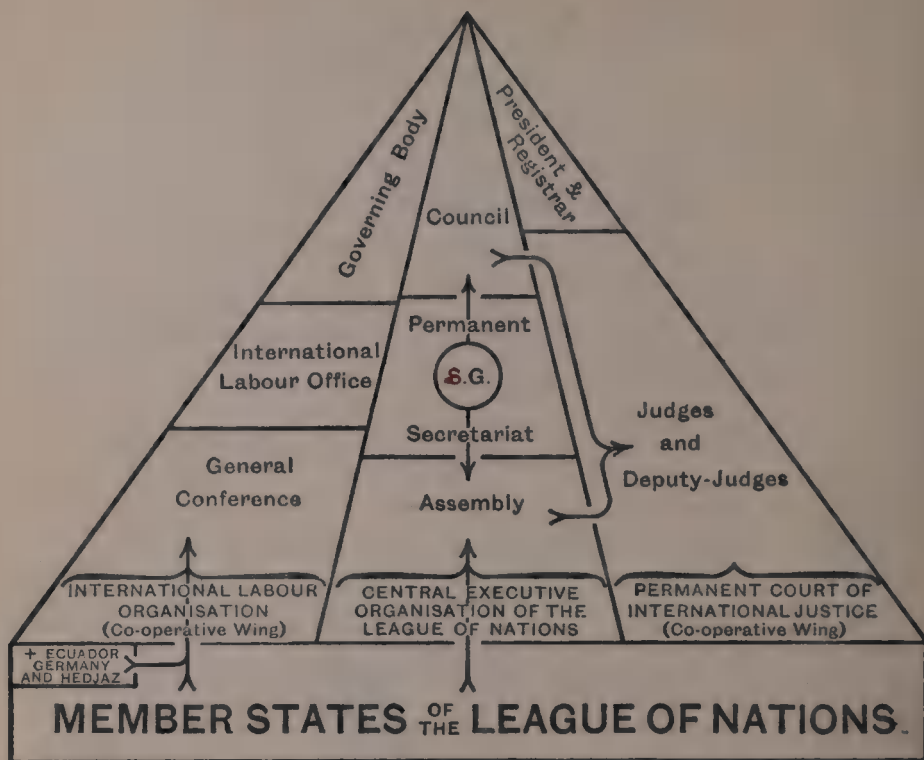


FIG. 4.—Organisation Diagram showing the autonomous Organisations within the League of Nations, their Main Organs and how each Organisation receives its delegated authority.

Key to Chart.—The Chart, as well as its various sections, should be read from the Base upwards. The inclusion of the various sections in one large Triangle indicates that, essentially, they form part of one Organisation.

The inscription "Member-States of the League of Nations" at the Base of the large Triangle shows that the Organisation, as a whole, derives its authority and power from the same source, viz. those States which adhere to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Chart shows that, considered as a whole, the League of Nations contains three Main Organisations:

- (1) The International Labour Organisation;
- (2) The Central Executive Organisation;
- (3) The Permanent Court of International Justice.

In the Chart, each of these Main Divisions is shown as a complete Triangle to indicate that, within the limits of its constitution, it is an autonomous Organisation.

The arrow-head at the base of the Triangle of the International Labour Organisation, and at the base of the Triangle of the Central Executive Organisation mean that these two Organisations derive their authority directly from the Member-States of the League. The + sign before the words Germany, Ecuador and Hedjaz indicates that, although these States do not form part of the other two Organisations of the League, they belong to the International Labour Organisation.

The absence of an arrow-head at the base of the Triangle of the Permanent Court of International Justice shows that this Organisation does not receive its authority directly from the Member-States. The authority of the Court is derived indirectly from the Member-States. The Judges and Deputy-Judges of the Court are elected through the intermediary of the Assembly, Council and Secretariat of the League of Nations, as indicated by the arrows originating from these sections.

International Labour Organisation.—This carries out its work through (1) a General Conference; (2) an International Labour Office; and (3) a Governing Body.

Central Executive Organisation of the League.—This carries out its work through (1) an Assembly; (2) a Permanent Secretariat; and (3) a Council.

Permanent Court of International Justice.—This carries out its work through (1) a Court of Judges and Deputy-Judges; (2) a President and a Registrar.

- (2) A *Council* of four Permanent Members and of six non-Permanent Members elected by the Assembly, and meeting as often as occasion requires;
- (3) A *Permanent Secretariat* under a Secretary-General.

THE TWO CO-OPERATIVE WINGS ARE :

- (1) *The International Labour Organisation* ;
- (2) *The Permanent Court of International Justice*.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION consists of :

- (1) A *General Conference*, meeting annually, of Delegates from the Member-States of the League of Nations *plus* Delegates from Germany, Ecuador and Hedjaz;
- (2) A *Governing Body* appointed according to the various interests represented in the International Labour Organisation, and meeting as often as occasion requires;
- (3) A (Permanent) *International Labour Office* under a Director appointed by the Governing Body.

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE consists of :

- (1) A *Court of Judges and Deputy-Judges* appointed through the Central Executive Organisation of the League of Nations and sitting as occasion requires;
- (2) A *President and a Registrar* who are required to reside at the Seat of the Court.

As the subsequent detailed study of their machinery will show, the *Central Executive Organisation* of the

League, the *International Labour Organisation* and the *Permanent Court of International Justice*, although actually established at different times, form a single organic structure.

This is illustrated in the accompanying diagram, which shows that all the main Departments of the League's chief organs are linked up through the

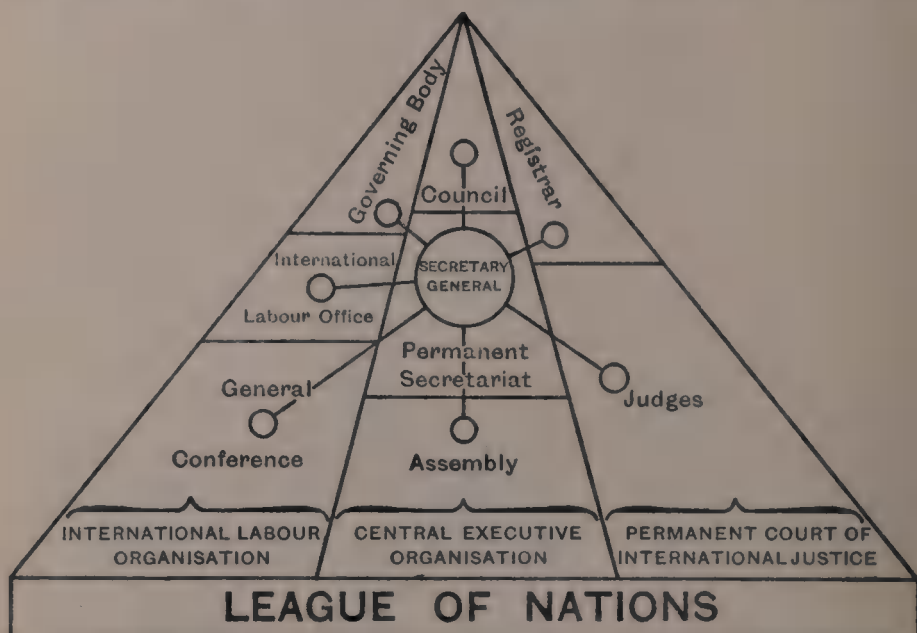


FIG. 5.—Organisation Diagram showing that the Main Organs of the Organisations of the League of Nations are linked up through the Secretary-General of the Permanent Secretariat.

Secretary-General. Thus, for instance, the Secretary-General centralises all Budget proposals, and, although the financial administration of the autonomous Organisations is independent of the financial administration of the Secretariat, yet it is the Secretary-General who distributes to the various Organisations the proportional amount to which they are each entitled under the Budget, and, when necessary, makes advances to them out of the Working Capital Fund.¹

¹ See p. 53.

The *Central Executive Organisation* of the League is mainly responsible for carrying out the objects of the League set forth in the Preamble to the Covenant, or Constitution, of the League. Those objects are :

To promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war;

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations;

by the firm establishment of the undertakings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another.

In its work the Central Executive Organisation of the League is supported by its two Co-operative Wings.

The *International Labour Organisation* provides the machinery whereby the League can fulfil the specific aim mentioned in the League's Covenant, according to which the Member-States of the League undertake to "endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend."

The *Permanent Court of International Justice* has been set up, in accordance with the League's Covenant, to advise "upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly," and "to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it."

IV

THE LEAGUE'S CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANISATION

NOTE.—*This Chapter should be read in conjunction with the Diagram facing p. 52.)*

FROM whatever aspect the League of Nations may be examined, it is important to bear in mind that its creation did not take place under the clear sky of peace and order. It was born, at the end of a hard and bitter war, in an atmosphere of brute force and passion, of resentment and revenge, of confusion, misery and chaos. The League, therefore, from the very beginning has had to deal with a terrible heritage from the past. Nevertheless, since its establishment the League has operated continuously and progressively.

The ideals of the League of Nations are expressed in the Preamble, or Introduction, to its Constitution. These ideals are (1) "the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war"; (2) "the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations"; (3) the "firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments"; and (4) the "maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another."

By the very establishment of a League of Nations to bring about the fulfilment of those ideals, there has been introduced into international politics a moral and

spiritual concept of the first magnitude. The axe has been laid at the root of a form of idolatry which arose from the false conception that the material interests of one's own particular country constitute a sacred right which is above all justice.

That Right is not founded upon Might is the proclamation which the League of Nations has heralded all over the world. Nor is that proclamation only a pious declaration. Ever since the creation of the League, Delegates and Representatives of States from every part of the earth, who have assembled at Geneva, the seat of the League, have, eloquently and convincingly, expressed their faith in the League's ideals, and have, moreover, proved their conviction by co-operating, untiringly and ungrudgingly, to keep living and active the practical application of those ideals.

Within the different nations the organisation and translation of Right into Law is ever repressing and disciplining the disruptive influence of evil. So, in its world-wide plane, the League of Nations strives for the establishment of order, based on justice and on the respect of the true rights of nations. The roots of this international order spring from, and thrive on, a mentality of concord, tolerance and solidarity.

The League of Nations depends for its successful operations upon the free consent of the various States which constitute its Membership. It is, in fact, based on a voluntary agreement subscribed to by the Member-States; and its main object is to try to render the execution of that agreement always practicable.

Through the work of the League the world is slowly beginning to realise that, ever since the dawn of History, it has been deceived into accepting, and carrying out, the false conception that the foundation

of international peace lies in the balancing of the power of armed nations. The spirit with which the League of Nations is impregnated is teaching the world that true international peace can only be born of, and developed from, international order which, in turn, must itself be the living expression of justice.

The LEAGUE OF NATIONS, as a whole, comprises a *Central Executive Organisation*, usually called the League, and two Co-operative Wings, the *International Labour Organisation* and the *Permanent Court of International Justice*.

The CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANISATION of the League of Nations consists of :

- (1) *The Assembly* ;
- (2) *The Council* ;
- (3) *The Permanent Secretariat*.

The inter-communication between these bodies, and sections of them, is indicated in the Diagram facing p. 52 by "doors" opening on "channels of communication."

THE ASSEMBLY.

COMPOSITION AND VOTING POWER.—The Assembly is composed of representatives of all Member-States,¹ each of which is entitled to send not more than three representatives.

Each Member-State, however, has only one vote, which is in the hands of the Chief Delegate.

¹ Members of the League are: (1) Original Member-States; (2) States invited to become Members; (3) Elected Member-States. In the Assembly, all Member-States are on a footing of equality.

MEETING.—Unless specially convened, the Assembly, summoned by the President of the Council through the Secretary-General, meets each year at the seat of the League, at Geneva, on the first Monday in September.

The meetings of the Assembly are public, unless otherwise decided by the Assembly. Decisions taken at a private meeting of the Assembly are announced at a public meeting of the Assembly.

COMPETENCE.—The Assembly is empowered to deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

SPECIAL DUTIES.—The special duties of the Assembly are :

- (1) The election of a Committee for the examination of the credentials of the Delegates of the Member-States ;
- (2) The election of new Member-States of the League ;¹
- (3) The election of the six non-Permanent Member-States of the Council.
- (4) The approval, by majority vote, of a decision of the Council to increase the number of Permanent or non-Permanent Members of the Council.
- (5) The approval of the appointment, by the Council, of the Secretary-General.

¹ In order to be elected a Member of the League, a State must secure two-thirds of the votes of the Assembly, and must previously have satisfied a Committee of the Assembly that (1) its request is in order, (2) its Government is recognised *de jure* or *de facto*, (3) the country possesses a stable Government and fixed frontiers, (4) the country is fully self-governing, and (5) the acts and declarations of the Government with regard to its international obligations and its armaments are in accordance with the requirements of the League.

- (6) The election (with the Council) of the Judges and Deputy-Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- (7) The determination, upon the proposal of the Council, of the salaries of the Judges and Deputy-Judges, and the expenses of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- (8) The amending of the Covenant, when necessary.
- (9) Consideration of disputes referred to it by the Council, or at the request of either party to a dispute.
- (10) The adoption of the Annual Budget of the League as a whole and its allocation among the Member-States.
- (11) The reconsideration of inapplicable Treaties, and the consideration of dangerous international conditions.
- (12) The consideration of the Annual Report on the work of the Council and of the measures which have been taken in execution of the Assembly's decisions.

METHOD OF WORK OF ASSEMBLY.—The Assembly functions by

- (1) Plenary Sessions,
- (2) Assembly Committees.

Since the members of Committees are delegates of the Member-States to the Assembly, Plenary Meetings do not take place when the Assembly Committees are sitting.

GENERAL COMMITTEE OF ASSEMBLY.—The officers forming the General Committee of the Assembly consist of the President and of the six Vice-Presidents of the Assembly (who at the beginning of each Session are elected by a majority vote of the Assembly),

together with the Chairman of each of its six Committees which the Assembly establishes for the consideration of the items on the Agenda.

FUNCTION OF GENERAL COMMITTEE.—The Committee assists the President of the Assembly in the general direction of the work of the Assembly; in the constitution of such Committees as the Assembly decides to create; in deciding the communications to be made to the Assembly; in the framing of the Agenda for each meeting; in determining the order of priority for its various items; and in securing the smooth working of the Committees and the Plenary Assembly by deciding any points as to the organisation of business and procedure which arise.

THE AGENDA.—The Agenda of a General Session of the Assembly is drawn up by the Secretary-General with the approval of the President of the Council, and includes :

- (1) A report upon the work of the Council since the last Session;
- (2) A report by the Secretary-General upon the work of the Secretariat, and upon the measures taken to execute the decisions of the Assembly;
- (3) All items whose inclusion had been ordered by the Assembly at the previous Session;
- (4) All items proposed by the Council;
- (5) All items proposed by a Member-State of the League in accordance with the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly;
- (6) The Budget for the next financial period, and the report on the accounts of the last financial period.

COMMITTEES OF THE ASSEMBLY.—The work before the Assembly is, according to subject, apportioned for study to six Committees which report to the Assembly.

These Committees consist of one Delegate from each Member-State; the Delegations themselves deciding which of their Delegates shall attend the different Committees.

The six Committees, which elect their own Chairmen, deal, respectively, with :

- (1) *Legal and Constitutional Questions.*
- (2) *Technical Organisations.*
- (3) *Blockade and Armaments.*
- (4) *League's Financial Organisation.*
- (5) *Social and General Questions.*
- (6) *Political Questions.*

These Committees are in reality the "Assembly in Committee."

Except the Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat, no item originally on the Agenda, or admitted to the Agenda during the Session, is dealt with by the Assembly in Plenary Session without its having been first referred to one of the Assembly Committees¹ (which often refers the subject-matter to a special sub-committee of its own members). Hence, an item is always before the full Assembly in the form of a Report from the Assembly Committee which has dealt with it.

COMMITTEE REPORTS.—In order to present the results of its work to the Assembly, each Committee elects a "Rapporteur" who introduces the Report to the Assembly.

¹ Unless the Assembly itself, by a two-thirds majority, determines otherwise.

A "Rapporteur" is a member of the Committee elected to act in the capacity of Reporting Secretary. He may be a "Rapporteur" for the whole of the subjects on the Agenda of an Assembly Committee, or for only one item. He draws up a Report of the decisions of the Committee which, after approval by the Committee, is presented by the Committee *via* its "Rapporteur" to the Assembly.

As each nation has already had an opportunity of expressing its views in Committee, these reports enable the Plenary Meeting of the Assembly to deal with the various questions effectively in a minimum of time on a provisionally agreed basis.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PLACE IN THE ASSEMBLY.—The Secretary-General, or his Deputy, attends all Plenary Meetings of the Assembly.

At each Session of the Assembly the Secretary-General presents a Report on the work of the Secretariat, and on the measures which have been taken in execution of the Assembly's decisions.

The Secretary-General draws up the Agenda, with the approval of the President of the Council. If possible, this Agenda is circulated among the Member-States three months before the first Meeting of the Assembly.

THE COUNCIL.

COMPOSITION AND VOTING POWER.—The Council consists of Representatives of the four Original Permanent Member-States (Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan), and of six non-Permanent Member-States periodically elected by the Assembly.

At meetings of the Council, each Member-State of the League is represented on the Council by one

*Who should
"State-Member"
of the Council*

Representative and has one vote. Any Member-State of the League not represented on the Council is invited to send a Representative to sit as a Member at any Meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member-State of the League.

Also, the *Director* of the International Labour Office attends the meetings of the Council, on its invitation, whenever an item of the Agenda presents an aspect directly concerning the interests specially entrusted to the Labour Office.

MEETING.—The Council, according to the Covenant, meets at least once a year, at the seat of the League (Geneva), or at any other place decided upon. The ever-increasing volume of its work, however, has necessitated the Council meeting usually every two months, at the place most convenient for each occasion.

The Covenant also provides for an immediate meeting of the Council in case of emergency, arising from war or threat of war.

Except when determined by itself, the Council holds its meetings in private, but it issues public reports on the decisions arrived at.

A meeting of the Council is convened by the President of the Council by letter addressed, through the Secretary-General, to the regularly accredited Representatives of each Member-State, through their respective Governments. Normally, the convening letter should be despatched at least twenty days before date of proposed meeting; but, in special circumstances, the President may reduce this time limit.

The convening letter should state the items on the Agenda, and, as far as possible, must be accompanied by the necessary documents.

A meeting of the Council is also convened, within a reasonable time, on demand, addressed to the Secretary-General, of any Member-State of the League represented on the Council, or of three Member-States not represented on the Council.

COMPETENCE.—The Council has power to deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League, or affecting the peace of the World.

SPECIAL DUTIES.—The special duties of the Council are :

- (1) To appoint (with the approval of the Assembly) the Secretary-General, and to approve the appointment by him of his staff.
- (2) To elect (with the Assembly) the Judges and Deputy-Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- (3) To propose, for determination by the Assembly, the salaries payable to Judges and Deputy-Judges, and the expenses of the Court of International Justice.
- (4) To lay down the conditions under which the Permanent Court of International Justice shall be open to non-Members of the League.
- (5) To decide any questions as to which are the Member-States of chief industrial importance in regard to the election of the Governing Body of the *International Labour Office*.
- (6) To formulate plans for the reduction of national armaments and to submit them to the Governments concerned. The limits of armaments fixed shall not, after adoption, be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

- (7) To take such action as it may deem proper and effective with regard to any violation of the Covenant relating to the protection of minorities.
- (8) To consider any action that may be deemed necessary when it is summoned in case of war or threat of war.
- (9) To deal with disputes between Member-States submitted to the Council for enquiry and report.
- (10) To propose measures necessary to give effect to the decision of an arbitration, or of a judicial settlement, of a dispute between Member-States.
- (11) To consider disputes not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement, to report on them, and, if necessary, to refer such disputes to the Assembly.
- (12) To take whatever steps may be required for settling disputes, or preventing hostilities, between a State which is a Member of the League and a State which is not, or between States both of which are not Members of the League.
- (13) To decide whether a breach has been committed by any Member-State of the League resorting to war in contravention of the Covenant of the League, and to notify all Member-States of the League of the date it recommends for the application of the penalties provided for in the Covenant.
- (14) To appoint a Supervisory Commission of Finance, entirely independent of the bodies responsible for measures involving expenditure, to examine and to report on the draft

Budget of the coming year and on the expenditure of the previous year.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.—The duties of President are performed, in rotation, by the representatives on the Council of the States represented, the order being the alphabetical one of the names of the various States, in French.

THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION OF FINANCE.—The Supervisory Commission, which holds its sessions at Geneva, is composed of five members, of whom one at least must be a financial expert. The members are appointed for three years by the Council which, in selecting members, must include among them persons belonging to countries, Member-States of the League, which are not represented on the Council.

The Commission appoints from its members a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Rapporteur for each financial year.

The Supervisory Commission examines every year the general Budget of the League and reports thereon to the Council and the Member-States.

When the Commission is considering their respective Budgets, the autonomous Organisations are represented before the Commission in such manner as they may decide and the Commission approve. A non-autonomous Organisation is represented by the Secretary-General, assisted by one of the officials responsible for the work of such Organisation.

The Commission may not amend the Budget as presented to it, but may propose modifications. The Commission discusses such modifications (if any) with the competent official or authority, and reports its conclusions to the Council and to the Assembly.

On the proposal of the Supervisory Commission, the Council appoints, for a period of five years, an auditor, who must in no way be in the service of any of the Organisations of the League. The auditor audits the accounts of the League after the closing of the accounts for each year, and three times during the course of each year.

The auditor, reports to the Supervisory Commission upon each audit. After considering these reports, the Rapporteur of the Commission drafts a general report on the accounts of each year for the consideration of the Commission. The report must deal in detail with all matters likely to be of interest concerning the financial administration of the League during the year in question.

THE BUDGET AND THE COUNCIL.—The Secretary-General arranges that the Budget, accompanied by the necessary Annexes relating to the autonomous and non-autonomous Organisations of the League, for the coming year is submitted to the Supervisory Commission before May 1st of each year.

The Commission examines the Budget and prepares a report thereon in time for both documents to be despatched to the Council and to the Member-States of the League three months before the Annual Session of the Assembly.

The observations of the Council upon the Budget and upon the report of the Commission must be despatched to the Member-States in time for them to be received at least one month before the regular Annual Session of the Assembly.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PLACE IN THE COUNCIL.—The Secretary-General, or his Deputy, attends all

meetings of the Council and keeps the minutes, which are to be approved by the Members of the Council.

At the beginning of each Session of the Council the Secretary-General presents a written Report on the steps taken in execution of previous decisions, and on the progress of matters submitted to the Council.

The Secretary-General, in agreement with the President of the Council, draws up the Agenda for each Session of the Council.

THE AGENDA.—At each Session the Council decides the items to be placed on the Agenda of the next Session, and may appoint a “Rapporteur” for each subject.

Should a Member-State, between two Sessions, request a subject to be considered at the next Session of the Council, the Secretary-General will place that item on the Agenda. This also applies to any subject which may have been referred to the Council in the interval between two Sessions, and which the Secretary-General, in agreement with the President of the Council, may deem to require consideration.

In any case where the Council has not appointed a “Rapporteur” for a subject on the Agenda, the President may do so.

By a majority vote, new items may be placed on the Agenda in the course of a Session.

At the beginning of each Session the Council considers a Report of the Secretary-General on the steps taken to give effect to its previous decisions on the progress of the matters submitted to the Council.

RELATION BETWEEN ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL.—The following principles have been adopted for guidance :

- (a) The Council and the Assembly are each invested with particular powers and duties.

Neither body has jurisdiction to render a decision in a matter which has been expressly committed to the other organ of the League, but either body may discuss and investigate any matter which is within the general competence of the League.

- (b) Under the Covenant, representatives on the Council and the Assembly render their decisions as the representatives of their respective States, and in rendering such decisions they have no standing except as representatives.
- (c) The Council presents each year to the Assembly a Report on the work performed by it.

THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT

COMPOSITION.—The Permanent Secretariat is composed of over 300 persons, drawn from all the Member-States of the League, and appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council. All positions are open equally to men and women.

FUNCTION OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT.—The function of the Secretariat is twofold: (1) it provides machinery, administrative or other, for the operations of the various organs of the League—the Assembly, the Council, the International Labour Organisation, and the Permanent Court of International Justice; and (2) it is responsible for its own internal administration.

THE SECRETARIAT AS MACHINERY OF THE LEAGUE.—The Secretariat carries out the work of the League (a) through its own Special Sections, and (b) in co-operation with a number of Auxiliary Organisations set up or convened by the Assembly or the Council.

THE SPECIAL SECTIONS OF THE SECRETARIAT.—These are :

- (1) The Administrative and Minorities Section.
- (2) The Mandates Section.
- (3) The Political Section.
- (4) The Limitation of Armaments Section.
- (5) The Economic and Financial Section.
- (6) The Transit and Communications Section.
- (7) The Humanitarian and Social Section.
- (8) The Health Section.
- (9) The Information Section.
- (10) The Legal Section.
- (11) The Supervision of International Bureaux Section.

THE AUXILIARY ORGANISATIONS OF THE LEAGUE.—These are bodies whose work the Secretariat (1) directs, or (2) serves, or (3) co-operates with. They are of two classes :

Class A. Those that sit permanently or at regular intervals;

Class B. Those that do not sit permanently or at regular intervals, but which are established for special purposes.

The chief among those belonging to *Class A* are :

TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.	{	Working with	Aa. <i>Economic and Financial.</i>	1. Economic
		Section 5. ¹		Committee.
				2. Financial
		Working with	Ab. Transit and	Committee.
		Section 6.	Communications.	
		Working with	Ac. Health.	
		Section 8.		

NOTE.—For details of the Technical Organisations, see pp. 40–44.

¹ The Sections referred to are the Sections of the Secretariat.

Working with
Section 1.

- Ad. The *Saar Valley Commission*, which is responsible to the Council for the administration of the district, on behalf of the League.
- Ae. The *Danzig Commissioner*, similarly responsible for the administration of that city.

Working with
Section 2.

- Af. The *Permanent Mandates Commission*, which receives and examines the reports of the Mandatories and advises the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates.¹

The Permanent Mandates Commission consists of nine members, four chosen from the Mandatory and five from non-Mandatory States. The members of the Commission are not regarded as representatives of their States, but as individuals chosen for their personal merit and knowledge of colonial affairs.

¹ The Annual Reports of the Mandated Powers to the Permanent Mandates Commission are examined, with regard to the sections which deal with conditions of labour and slavery, by the International Labour Office, which submits its criticisms thereon to the Commission.

Working with Ag. The *Upper-Silesian Mixed Com-*
Section 3. *mission.*

Working with Section 4.	{	Ah.	The <i>Permanent Armaments Commission</i> , which advises the Council of the League with regard to military, naval and air questions technically.
		Ai.	The <i>Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments</i> , set up to assist, advise, and report to the Council with regard to the reduction of armaments.

NOTE.—The *Permanent Armaments Commission* consists of three members (one Army, one Navy, one Air Force) from each of the Member-States represented on the Council. The Members who are nominated by and represent their countries act also as technical advisers to the Council.

The *Temporary Mixed Commission* consisted originally of six members selected for their political, economic and social competence, six members nominated from the Permanent Armaments Commission (as experts and *not* as deputies of their countries) and six members of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation. It was subsequently strengthened by the addition of seven members of high and special competence.

Working with Section 5.	{	Aj. <i>Allocation of Expenses Committee.</i>
		This Committee, appointed by the Assembly, submits recommendations regarding the allocation of the expenses of the League among the Member-States.

Working with Section 9.	{	Al.	The <i>Branch Office in London</i> .
		Am.	The <i>Branch Office in Paris</i> .
		An.	The <i>Liaison Office in Geneva</i> for South American States.

Working with Section 11.	{	Ao.	The <i>Intellectual Co-operation</i> <i>Committee</i> which deals with international Co-operation in intellectual work.

NOTE.—The Intellectual Co-operation Committee consists of twelve members and is sub-divided into three sub-committees. It has several experts working for it, and publishes reports on the subjects discussed by the Committee and on the results of the enquiries made by it.

Ap. *Salaries Adjustment Committee*.
Appointed by the Council,
it proposes, from time to
time, adjustments which may
be necessary in the salaries
of officials of the League
according to variations in the
cost of living at Geneva.

The chief Auxiliary Organisations belonging to *Class B* which are or have been in existence :

Ba. The *Economic Blockade Commis-*
sion (1921), appointed to study
and report on questions bear-
ing upon the conditions, man-
ner and time in which to apply
the economic penalties of the
League.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Working with
Section 3. | Bb. The <i>International Commission concerning the Aaland Islands</i> (1920), appointed to enquire and report on the dispute between Sweden and Finland over the possession of the Aaland Islands. |
| | Be. The <i>Military Commission of Control</i> (1920), appointed to prevent an outbreak of hostilities between Poland and Lithuania. |
| | Bd. The <i>Albanian Commission</i> (1921), appointed to settle the boundaries between Albania and Serbia. |
| Working with
Section 5. | Be. The <i>International Financial Conference</i> (1920), summoned by the Council to study international financial situation. The Conference was held in Brussels. |
| Working with
Section 6. | Bf. The <i>Transit Conference at Barcelona</i> (1921), to consider questions relating to freedom of communications and transit. |
| Working with
Section 7. | Bg. <i>International Conference for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children</i> (1921). Held in Geneva. |
| | Bh. <i>Commission for the Repatriation of Prisoners of War</i> (1920). |
| | Bi. <i>Commission for the Repatriation of Refugees</i> (1921). |
| | Bj. <i>Commission for the Relief of Famine in Russia</i> (1921). |

Working with Bk. *The Typhus Commission* (1920).
Section 8.

THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE LEAGUE.

TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.—This is the name given to the special organisations needed to meet the requirements of Article 23 of the Covenant with regard to International Economics and Finance, International Transit and Communications, and International Health.

The work of these Technical Organisations is not so well known as it deserves to be. They have, since their creation, achieved very considerable results in their respective domains, and they have done so at a cost to the League and to the Governments which is practically negligible. They consist of experts drawn from the outside world—distinguished epidemiologists, economists and financiers—and from various Government Public Health Services, Treasuries and Boards of Trade. By these means, the League secures better expert assistance than it could in any other way, and it remains in contact with the organisations which control the Government action of different countries; while the system has also the advantage of being extremely economical, since these experts give their services without any fee, and the only cost to the League consists of their travelling and subsistence allowances.

The Economic and Financial Organisations, the Transit and Communications Organisation, and the Health Organisation have not yet assumed their final form.

TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS : ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.—This Organisation assists the Assembly, the Council and the other Technical Organisations of the League in all matters relating to economics or to finance. It works through a General Conference and a Financial Committee and an Economic Committee, together with a number of sub-committees dealing with specialised subjects such as: the Equitable Treatment of Commerce, Unfair Competition, Bills of Exchange, Double Taxation and Fiscal Evasion, and Economic and Financial Statistics.

TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS : TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATIONS ORGANISATION.—This Organisation assists the Council, the Assembly and the other Technical Organisations of the League on all questions referred to the League in accordance with Article 23 (e) of the Covenant and the articles of the various Treaties of Peace, which place under the jurisdiction of the League questions relating to transport, ports, navigable waterways and railways. It is now carrying out its work mainly through (1) an Advisory and Technical Committee, and (2) Regional Conferences.

In general, the League's Transit and Communications Organisation acts as a co-ordinating intermediary between international associations concerned with special aspects of the transport question and as an investigating agency for questions, in which Governments are interested, raised in connection with work undertaken by the International Railway Union, or any other technical non-Government institution.

TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS : HEALTH ORGANISATION.—The Health Organisation serves as a clearing-

house for epidemiological intelligence and a central agency for collecting information on special health questions of international concern; both are activities which, in view of their world-wide scope, it is obvious no national administration can undertake.

The main duties of this Organisation are :—

- (1) To advise the League of Nations in matters affecting health;
- (2) To bring Administrative Health Authorities in different countries into closer relationship with one another;
- (3) To organise means of more rapid interchange of information on matters where immediate precautions against disease may be required, and to simplify methods for acting rapidly on such information where it affects more than one country;
- (4) To promote the conclusion of international agreements necessary for administrative action in matters of health and their revision when circumstances require, and to collect information as to action taken to give effect to such agreements;
- (5) In regard to measures for the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, which falls within the province of the International Labour Organisation, to co-operate with and assist the International Labour Organisation, it being understood that the International Labour Organisation will, on its side, act with the Health Section in regard to all health matters;

- (6) To confer and co-operate with International Red Cross Societies and other similar societies under the provisions of Article 25 of the Covenant;
- (7) To advise, when requested, other voluntary organisations in health matters of international concern;
- (8) To organise missions in matters of health with the concurrence of the countries affected.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS, THE COUNCIL AND THE ASSEMBLY.—The Technical Organisations are established to facilitate the task of the Assembly and the Council by the setting up of technical sections on the one hand, and on the other to assist the Member-States of the League, by establishing direct contact between their technical representatives in the various spheres, to fulfil their international duties.

In order to attain this double object, the Technical Organisations possess enough independence and flexibility to make them effectively useful to the Member-States of the League, and yet remain under the control of the responsible Organisations which conduct the general business of the League, with a view to verifying whether the proposals they make are in conformity with the principles and spirit of the Covenant, in accordance with Articles 19 and 20. Hence, the relations between the Technical Organisations, the Council and the Assembly are governed by two principles :—

(a) *The interior working of the various Organisations is independent.*

They prepare their own agenda, and communicate it to the Council of the League before discussion thereon takes place.

(b) *Their relations with the Member-States of the League are controlled.*

Before any communication of the results or proposals of the Technical Organisations is made to the Member-States, or before any action concerning a Member-State is taken, the Council of the League must be immediately informed in order that it may be able to exercise its power of control, if necessary. In this case its Council may decide that the communication or action in question shall be postponed and request the Technical Organisation concerned either to withdraw the question from its agenda or to submit it to further consideration.

The Technical Organisation may, however, request that the decision taken by the Council shall be discussed at the next meeting of the Assembly.

The Assembly of the League should be informed of all questions dealt with in the interval between its meetings by the Council in the exercise of its power of control defined above. It may either be informed of such questions by the Council on its own initiative, or on the proposal of any one of its Member-States, or at the request of one of the Technical Organisations of the League.

THE SPECIAL SECTIONS OF THE SECRETARIAT AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

SECTION 1. THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINORITIES SECTION.—This Section works in co-operation with the *Saar Valley Commission*, which is responsible to the

Council for the administration of the district, and deals with all questions relating to that administration. It also assists the work of the *Danzig Commissioner*, and deals in general with questions bearing on the protection of that city and the guarantee of its constitution by the League. In addition, it watches, on behalf of the Council, any problem concerned with the protection accorded by the League to Minorities in various countries.

In order that the work on minorities questions, which forms such an important feature of the new political orientation in Europe, may be more systematically carried out than has hitherto been found possible, and in view of the new conditions in Central Europe and the Near East, the third Assembly included in the estimates of 1923 the sum of 100,000 francs for the development of this Section. In execution of the resolutions of the third Assembly on minorities question, and in view of the conclusion of peace in the Near East, further work devolves upon this Section inasmuch as, by its special duties, it has to keep in close and personal touch with the officials of many Governments, this rendering extensive and prolonged journeys of the officials of the Section necessary.

SECTION 2. THE MANDATES SECTION.—This Section co-operates with the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission and the execution of its decisions. All complaints relating to the violation of the Covenant with regard to mandated territories form subjects of enquiry by this Section.

This section also :—

- (1) Prepares the work of the Council on the whole problem of Mandates.

- (2) Corresponds with the Governments of the Mandatory Powers.
- (3) Serves as permanent secretariat for the Permanent Mandates Commission, which meets intermittently.
- (4) Collects and sifts all data, in public and private documents, on the mandate areas, the policy of the Mandatory Powers with regard to these areas, and general questions of colonial administration, for the information of the Council, of the Members of the Assembly, and of the Members of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

SECTION 3. THE POLITICAL SECTION.—This Section obtains and prepares statements of facts on any political question which is before the Council or Assembly, or likely to come before them. It may also be called upon to carry out the decisions of the League.

SECTION 4. THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS SECTION.—The official description of this Section is the *Secretariat of the Naval, Military and Air Sub-Commissions*. The work of the *Permanent Armaments Commission*, which advises the Council with regard to military, naval and air questions, and that of the *Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments*, initiated by the Assembly to advise and report to the Council with reference to the reduction of Armaments, is prepared by this Section.

This Section also carries out the preparatory work of the Council on all questions relating to :—

- (1) The reduction of national expenditure on armaments;

- (2) The collection of statistics regarding the armaments of various countries;
- (3) The right of investigation and mutual supervision;
- (4) The private manufacture of arms and ammunition of war;
- (5) The traffic in arms in general and the ratification of the Convention of St. Germain in particular;
- (6) The question of convening an international conference on the private manufacture of and trade in arms;
- (7) The general outlining of a plan for the reduction of national armaments in the form of a treaty or in some other definite form.

SECTION 5. THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SECTION.—The function of this Section is to deal with the obligations of the League to secure and maintain equitable treatment of the commerce of all Member-States of the League, and with other duties of an economic nature imposed by the Covenant. It works in co-operation with the *Provisional Economic and Financial Advisory Committee*, and assists any Committee or Commission set up by the Assembly or by the Council in the study of the financial or economic aspect of any problem.

SECTION 6. THE TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.—This Section deals with the League's obligations to make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and transit for the commerce of the Member-States of the League, and with the duties which several Treaty provisions place upon the League with regard to various systems of river navigation. It co-operates with the work of the *Provisional Economic*

and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit.

SECTION 7. THE HUMANITARIAN AND SOCIAL SECTION.—This Section deals with the obligations imposed upon the League to endeavour to secure fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children throughout the world, and to supervise the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children.

This Section also deals with any international humanitarian questions which may be considered either by the Assembly or by the Council of the League. Thus, it has worked for the Commission for the Repatriation of Prisoners of War, the Commission for the Repatriation of Refugees, and the International Conference for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, and also for the Advisory Opium Committee.

SECTION 8. THE HEALTH SECTION.—This Section, which co-operates with the *Provisional Health Committee* and the *Advisory Committee for the Traffic in Opium*, deals with the duties of the League in matters of international concern regarding the prevention and control of disease. It also works with any Committee or Commission which the Assembly, or the Council, of the League sets up to consider any special question connected with diseases or epidemics. Thus, for instance, the *Typhus Commission* receives assistance from this Section.

SECTION 9. THE INFORMATION SECTION.—This Section collects information for the Council and for other Sections of the Secretariat. It also answers enquiries from the public, and sends information to the Press. It issues the *Official Journal*, the *Monthly Summary*,

and the other publications which are produced under the authority of the League.

SECTION 10. THE LEGAL SECTION.—This Section advises the Assembly, the Council, their Committees, and all Sections of the Secretariat on all legal matters; it makes the arrangements for the Registration of Treaties; and acts as Legal Adviser to the International Labour Office.

SECTION 11. SUPERVISION OF INTERNATIONAL BUREAUX.—This Section is designed to centralise, under the direction of the League, all international bureaux established by international conventions.

It is the duty of this Section to keep in touch with other international associations and bureaux, especially with those placed under the direction of the League. Although no direct financial assistance is made to any of them, expense is incurred by indirect assistance. For instance, members of the Section are often asked to attend their meetings and the Section publishes information about its work in the *Quarterly Bulletin*. It has also issued a *Handbook of International Organisation*.

This Section also takes charge of the questions that are not definite enough to be allotted to any other Section of the Secretariat, such as enquiries on education, Esperanto, etc., and specially of the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

THE MACHINERY OF THE INTERNAL SERVICES OF THE SECRETARIAT.—This consists of (1) Accounting Branch¹; (2) Internal Control; (3) Précis Writing

¹ All the finances of the League as a whole are scrutinised by a Supervisory Commission of Finance which is appointed by the Council and is entirely independent of the bodies responsible for measures involving expenditure (see p. 31).

and Publication Department; (4) Indexing of Publications; (5) Drafting Committee; (6) Interpreting and Translating; (7) Library; (8) Registry; (9) Central Services: Establishment Office, Pool of Typists, Duplicating and Multigraph Service, Distribution of Documents, Miscellaneous Services.

CONTROL OF MACHINERY OF INTERNAL SERVICES.—The internal administration of the Secretariat is under the control of the Under-Secretary-General, assisted by the Second Under-Secretary-General.

SPECIAL DUTIES OF THE UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERALS.—Besides being concerned with internal administration, the First Under-Secretary-General acts as Director of the International Bureaux Section, and the Second Under-Secretary-General is in charge of the work connected with the Permanent Court of International Justice.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL.—In addition to assisting generally the Secretary-General and, whenever required, to deputising on his behalf, the Deputy Secretary-General has been especially connected with the Economic and Financial Section.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL.—In the Secretary-General is centred the co-ordination of the whole of the League's activities.

Not only is he responsible for the organisation and internal working of the Secretariat, the appointment (subject to the Council's approval) of its officials, the summoning of all meetings of the Council and of the Assembly, the preparation of their Agenda and the provision of the particular Secretariats they require, but he has also numerous duties connected with the League's two Co-operative Wings: the International

Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Secretary-General's principal duties with regard to the International Labour Organisation and the Permanent Court of International Justice will be found in the chapters of this work which deal with these two wings of the League of Nations.

He has also special duties with reference to the action to be taken in case of war or danger of war, whether immediately affecting the Member-States of the League or not; and with reference to disputes between Member-States of the League, when the disputants do not desire to submit their differences to arbitration or to judicial settlement.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.—Three months, at least, before the annual Session of the Assembly, the Secretary-General submits to the Council, after it has been examined by the Supervisory Commission of Finance, a general draft Budget (expenditure and income) for the following year together with the Commission's report thereon. The documents are, at the same time, communicated to each Member-State of the League.

Draft Budgets of the International Labour Organisation, of the organisations, offices, commissions, etc., of the League, with detailed explanations, are attached to the Budget as annexes.

The observations of the Council upon the Budget and upon the report of the Supervisory Commission should reach the different Member-States at least one month before the annual Session of the Assembly.

The Budget is not considered by the Assembly in plenary session until its Finance Committee has considered, and reported on, the Budget and the

report of the Supervisory Commission thereon. The Assembly may make, in plenary session, any amendments it considers desirable.

Upon the adoption of the Budget by the Assembly, with or without amendment, the Budget becomes operative up to the limit of each appropriation, for the purposes and services, and for the period specified therein. Supplementary estimates, which may become necessary for any cause, must be submitted, with explanations, at the earliest practicable moment to the Assembly, which, during the Session then current, shall consider and approve the same, subject to such amendment and alteration as it deems proper.

After the adoption of the Budget by the Assembly and the total amount voted has been apportioned among the Member-States, the Secretary-General transmits to them all the relevant documents, and makes with them the necessary arrangements for payment.

On the receipt of each contribution, the Secretary-General distributes to the competent officials of the autonomous organisations the proportional amount to which each organisation is entitled.

The accounts of the League are audited by an auditor appointed by the Council on the proposal of the Supervisory Commission. An audit is made after the closing of the accounts for each year, and, in addition, three times during the course of each year.

The auditor verifies whether the receipts and payments are in accordance with the Budget and reports to the Commission after each audit.

The Secretary-General transmits to the Council, the Member-States and the delegates at the Assembly copies of the audited accounts for each year together with a report of the auditor thereon.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ASSEMBLY (pp. 22-27).

Committees (p. 26).

1. LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL.
2. TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS.
3. BLOCKADE AND ARMAMENTS.
4. LEAGUE'S FINANCIAL ORGANISATION.
5. SOCIAL AND GENERAL.
6. POLITICAL.

General Committee (pp. 24-25).

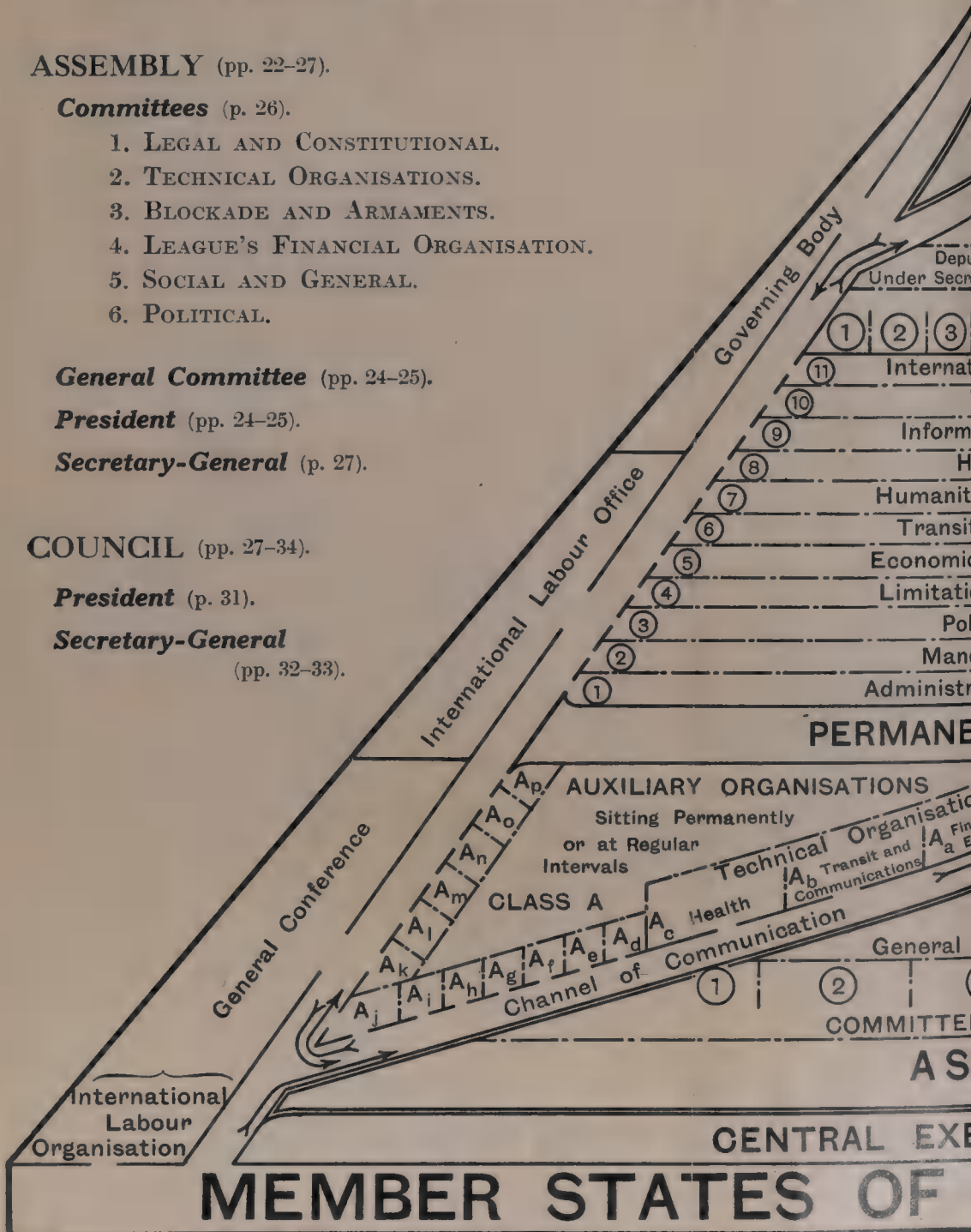
President (pp. 24-25).

Secretary-General (p. 27).

COUNCIL (pp. 27-34).

President (p. 31).

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(pp. 32-33).



PERMANENT SECRETARIAT (pp. 34-53).

Auxiliary Organisations (CLASS A) (pp. 35-38).

Auxiliary Organisations (CLASS B) (pp. 38-40).

Technical Organisations (pp. 40-44).

Special Sections (pp. 44-49).

Internal Services (pp. 49-50).

1. ACCOUNTS BRANCH.
2. TYPING AND DUPLICATING.
3. REGISTRATION.
4. INTERPRETING AND TRANSLATING.
5. PRÉCIS WRITING.
6. PRINTING AND PUBLISHING.
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Under-Secretary-Generals (p. 50).

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Secretary-General (pp. 50-51).

President and Registrar

Judges and Deputy-Judges

Permanent Court of International Justice

Executive Organisation

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ASSEMBLY

Committee of Assembly

President

S.G.

AUXILIARY ORGANISATIONS

Not sitting Permanently but for some Special Purpose

CLASS B

Channel of Communication

SPECIAL SECTIONS

Internal Services

Secretary General

President COUNCIL

S.G.

ns ncial and onomic

Permanent Secretariat

nt SECRETARIAT

ns ncial and onomic

President

Committee of Assembly

S OF THE ASSEMBLY

SEMBLY

CUTIVE ORGANISATION

[To face p. 52.

WORKING CAPITAL FUND.—This is a fund constituted by money voted by the Assembly and payable by the Member-States, in addition to the sum voted for the expenses of the year. It is primarily applicable to meet temporarily normal requirements of regular organisations of the League which cannot be paid out of income at the time when they are due to be met.

Recoverable advances required for work undertaken by the League may be made from the Working Capital Fund if the money is not required for the regular organisations. Such advances must be authorised by a special resolution of the Council, which shall keep the Members of the League fully informed with regard to all such resolutions and advances.

V

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

(NOTE.—*This Chapter should be read in conjunction with the Diagram facing p. 80.*)

THE ultimate goal towards which the Central Executive Organisation of the League of Nations works is the establishment of universal peace. It is clear, however, that such a peace cannot be secured unless it is based upon social justice. And it is because those who drafted the League's Covenant admitted that "conditions of labour exist involving injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled,"¹ that they laid down that Member-States of the League "will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend."²

In the *International Labour Organisation* is found the machinery for realising this aim of the League in many directions where improvement is urgently required. This machinery, which is outlined in the present chapter, has been especially set up to deal with "the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate

¹ From the Preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles by which the International Labour Organisation is constituted.

² The Covenant of the League of Nations, Art. 23, Par. 1.

living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, the protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, the recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures." And to emphasise the international significance of the work of the *International Labour Organisation*, it is laid down that "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries."

Although it is linked up with the Central Executive Organisation of the League, and co-operates intimately with it, the *International Labour Organisation* is quite autonomous within the limits of its Constitution.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.—Without any claim being made that they are either complete or final, the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation mentions some guiding methods and principles which, it is considered, are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations, and which, if adopted by the industrial communities of the Member-States of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of inspection, will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earners of the world. These methods and principles are as follows :

- (1) Labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.
- (2) The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

- (3) The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.
- (4) The adoption of an eight-hours day or a forty-eight-hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.
- (5) The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.
- (6) The abolition of child-labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.
- (7) The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.
- (8) The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.
- (9) Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

The *International Labour Organisation*, which is a Co-operative Wing of the League of Nations, consists of :

- (1) *A General Conference.*
- (2) *A Governing Body.*
- (3) *An International Labour Office.*

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

COMPOSITION AND VOTING POWER.—The *General Conference* is composed of delegates from the Member-States of the League of Nations, and of those from Germany, Ecuador and Hedjaz which do not yet form part of the League. Each of these nations is entitled to send four representatives to the General Conference.

Of these four representatives of each country, two are Government delegates, one is a representative of the workers of the country, and one is a representative of the employers.

The delegates to the General Conference vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the Conference.

The voting is void unless the total number of votes cast is at least half the number of the delegates attending the Conference.

MEETING.—Unless otherwise specially convened, the General Conference meets once a year at the seat of the League of Nations, Geneva. The sittings of the Conference are public, except in cases where it has been expressly decided to the contrary.

COMPETENCE.—The Agenda for a meeting of the General Conference having been prepared by the International Labour Office, and approved by the Governing Body, it rests with the Conference, after it has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the Agenda, whether these proposals shall take the form of a *Recommendation*¹ to be submitted to the Member-States with a view to effect

¹ *Recommendations* serve as guides in passing national legislation, or in issuing administrative orders, whilst by the ratification of *Draft Conventions* States undertake strictly to observe certain regulations.

being given to it, or of a *Draft International Convention* ¹ for ratification by the Member-States.

In framing any Recommendation or Draft Convention of general application, the Conference must pay due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different, and must suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries.

In no case can any Member-State be asked or required, as a result of the adoption of any Recommendation or Draft Convention by the Conference, to lessen the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned.

SPECIAL DUTIES OF GENERAL CONFERENCE.—The special duties of the General Conference are :

- (1) To scrutinise the credentials of the delegates.
- (2) To consider any objection raised by a Member-State to the inclusion of any item in the Agenda of the Conference and to decide thereon.
- (3) To decide whether the adoption of proposals regarding any item in the Agenda shall take the form of a Recommendation or of a Draft Convention.
- (4) To consider a report on the measures which have been taken by the Member-States to give effect to the provisions of the recommendation of the Conference since its last meeting.

¹ *Recommendations* serve as guides in passing national legislation, or in issuing administrative orders, whilst by the ratification of *Draft Conventions* States undertake strictly to observe certain regulations.

- (5) To recommend amendments in the Constitution or the International Labour Organisation.¹
- (6) To approve method of filling vacancies in Governing Body suggested by the Governing Body.

OFFICERS OF CONFERENCE.—The officers of the General Conference consist of a President and of three Vice-Presidents. The three Vice-Presidents are proposed, respectively, by the Delegates of the Governments, of the Employers' Representatives, and of the Workers' Representatives.

The President and the three Vice-Presidents, who may be men or women, and must be of different nationalities, are finally elected by the Conference.

THE AGENDA OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE.—The Agenda of a Session of a General Conference is drawn up by the Director of the International Labour Office and approved by the Governing Body. It includes :

- (1) The consideration of a Report from the Governing Body with regard to objections which any Member-State may have raised to the inclusion of any item or items in the Agenda ;
- (2) The appointment of a *Committee of Selection*.
- (3) The election of a *Credentials Committee*.
- (4) The consideration of the Report of the Director of the International Labour Office dealing with the work of that office and including an account of the measures taken

¹ Amendments, adopted by the Conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the delegates present, take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the Member-States.

by the Member-States to give effect to the provisions of the recommendations of the Conference since its last meeting.

- (5) The consideration of the items included in the Agenda by the Governing Body.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION.—This Committee is composed of twelve Government delegates, six Employers' delegates and six Workers' delegates. The members of the Committee are elected by the Conference on the nomination of the Government delegates, the Employers' delegates and the Workers' delegates, respectively, not more than one of each class belonging to the same country.

The task of the *Committee of Selection* is :

- (a) To determine the order of work of the Conference, having regard to its decisions; to fix the dates of the plenary sittings of the Conference and the Agenda of each sitting; and to decide what resolutions are to be discussed by the Conference at each sitting.
- (b) To propose to the Conference a Government Delegate, an Employers' Delegate and a Workers' Delegate to form the *Credentials Committee*.
- (c) To appoint a *Drafting Committee* to prepare the definitive text of any draft convention or recommendation which, after adoption, the Conference may refer to it for that purpose.
- (d) To ensure that any Committee or Commission which the Conference may decide to appoint, for any special purpose, shall be competent to deal adequately with the subject submitted to such Committee or Commission, and shall

be representative of the various groups and nationalities of the International Labour Organisation.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.—This Committee consists of a Government Delegate, an Employers' Delegate and a Workers' Delegate who are proposed by the Committee of Selection to the Conference for election. It considers all objections raised concerning the nomination of Delegates or Advisers.

DRAFTING COMMITTEE.—This Committee, appointed by the Committee of Selection, consists of at least three persons, who need not be either Delegates or Advisers. It draws up in the form of draft conventions or recommendations the decisions adopted by the Conference.

SPECIAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.—The Conference may set up special Commissions for any purpose which it considers desirable. Each of such Commissions appoints its own chairman and nominates a "Rapporteur" to present the result of its deliberations. (For a definition of "Rapporteur," see p. 27).

THE DIRECTOR'S PLACE IN THE CONFERENCE.—The Director of the International Labour Office acts as Secretary of the General Conference and transmits the Agenda to the various Member-States.

THE GOVERNING BODY

COMPOSITION.—The Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation consists of twenty-four persons appointed for three years, as follows :

Twelve persons representing the Governments of the Member-States; ¹

Six persons elected by the Delegates to the General Conference representing the Employers;

Six persons elected by the Delegates to the General Conference representing the Workers.

The Chairman of the Governing Body has the right to take part in the discussions and to vote; but has no casting vote. No vote is valid unless at least fifteen members are present at the sitting.

OFFICERS OF GOVERNING BODY.—The Officers of the Governing Body consist of a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen chosen from among the three groups of the Governing Body.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman, who hold office for one year and are eligible for re-election during the period of office of that Governing Body, must be of different nationalities.

AGENDA OF GOVERNING BODY.—The Agenda of each Session is drawn up by the Chairman in agreement with the Director. It includes any item selected by the Governing Body at its preceding Session; and should reach the members at least fourteen days before the opening date of the Session.

¹ Of the twelve persons representing the Governments, eight are nominated by the Member-States which are of chief industrial importance and four are nominated by the Member-States selected for the purpose by the Government delegates to the Conference, excluding the delegates of the eight Member-States mentioned above. Any questions as to which are the Member-States of the chief industrial importance are decided by the Council of the League of Nations.

The Council has decided that "the eight members of the International Labour Organisation which are of the chief industrial importance are at present, in the alphabetical order of the names in French, Germany, Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, India, Italy and Japan."

THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.—The Finance Committee of the Governing Body, which examines the estimates and expenditure of the International Labour Office, is appointed by the Governing Body, and consists of seven members, including the Chairman and two representatives of the Government, Employers' and Workers' members respectively.

The Governing Body takes no decision regarding any proposal involving expenditure until that proposal has been referred to the Finance Committee and the latter has reported thereon.

THE DIRECTOR'S PLACE IN THE GOVERNING BODY.—The Director, or his Deputy, attends all meetings of the Governing Body.

The Director provides the Governing Body with its Secretariat. In agreement with the Chairman, the Director draws up the Agenda for the Sessions of the Governing Body.

MEETING.—The Governing Body meets from time to time (at least once every three months) whenever the occasion requires. With a view to making known the work of the International Labour Organisation, to attracting attention and to obtaining from Governments further efforts towards ratification, the Governing Body holds its Sessions in towns other than Geneva, provided that the State which invites it pays all the costs involved.

A special meeting is convened at the written request of not less than ten members of the Governing Body; or at the written request of not less than six members of the *same* Group of representatives on the Governing Body.

SPECIAL DUTIES.—The special duties of the Governing Body are:

- (1) To appoint a Director of the International Labour Office.
- (2) To settle the Agenda for all meetings of the General Conference.
- (3) To consider any suggestion as to the Agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the Member-States, or by any representative organisation recognised for the purpose.
- (4) To decide the form of, and the particulars which, Reports from the Member-States shall contain with regard to the measures they have taken to give effect to the provisions of Conventions to which they are a party.
- (5) To communicate to the Government of a Member-State any representation made to the International Labour Office with regard to that Government's failure to observe effectively a Convention to which it is a party; to invite that Government to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit; and to publish, if the Governing Body so decides, the statement, if any, made in response to the invitation.
- (6) To apply, if it thinks fit, to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for a Commission of Enquiry with regard to a complaint, filed by a Member-State with the International Labour Office, or of its own motion, that a Member-State is not securing effective observance of any Convention which both have ratified in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

- (7) To scrutinise the qualifications of the persons nominated by the Member-States to form a panel from which Members of the Commission of Enquiry are drawn, and to refuse to accept the nomination of any person whose qualifications do not comply with the requirements of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

The International Labour Office, which is entitled to the assistance of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given, is under a Director appointed by the Governing Body. Its staff, which is appointed by the Director, contains, so far as possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, persons of different nationalities, and a number of whom are women.

SPECIAL DUTIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.—The special duties of the International Labour Office include :

- (1) The Collection and Distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life.
- (2) The examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the General Conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions.
- (3) The conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the General Conference.
- (4) The preparation of the Agenda, to be settled by the Governing Body, for the meetings of the General Conference.

- (5) The editing and publishing in French and English (the official languages of the League of Nations), or in such other languages as the Governing Body may think desirable, of a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.
- (6) Such other duties as may be assigned to it by the General Conference.

FUNCTION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.—The function of the International Labour Office is twofold : (1) it provides machinery for the operations of the various organs of the International Labour Organisation, and (2) is responsible for its own internal administration.

THE LABOUR OFFICE AS MACHINERY OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.—The machinery of the International Labour Office for carrying out the aims of the International Labour Organisation is arranged in Three Divisions, under each of which is a number of Special Sections.

THE THREE DIVISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.—These are :

- (1) The *Research Division*, which is responsible for scientific research and enquiries, and for the publication of the studies undertaken ;
- (2) The *Intelligence and Liaison Division*, which collects, nationally and internationally, information concerning the adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour, and maintains the necessary relations with the industrial organisations of workers and of employers ;

- (3) The *Diplomatic Division*, which organises and prepares the work of the General Conference and deals with all official correspondence between the Office and the Governments. This Division also deals with all questions connected with the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the General Conference. With a view to securing their uniform application by the different Governments concerned, it assists them, if required, to arrive at the exact meaning which the Conference or its Committees had in mind when they framed the various clauses of those Conventions or Recommendations.

THE SECTIONS OF THE RESEARCH DIVISION.—This Division has ten sections :

- (1) The *Statistical Section*, which collects labour statistics from the various countries, and prepares articles interpreting and comparing the statistical information available ;
- (2) The *Labour Legislation Section*, which translates and publishes in three languages ¹ the texts of laws, decrees and regulations concerning labour in all countries of the world ;
- (3) The *Editorial Section*, which edits and publishes all the publications of the International Labour Office, with the exception of the “ *Official Bulletin* ” and the “ *Final Record* ” of the Sessions of the Conference which are issued by the Diplomatic Division ;
- (4) The *General Studies Section* carries out all the general studies which are considered necessary by the Director—the study of economic

¹ English, French and German.

conditions affecting efforts at social reform, the study of certain political situations which in particular countries affect national or international legislation, etc.;

- (5) The *Industrial Relations Section* is concerned with the relations between employers and workers, collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration, and problems regarding the regulation of the working day;
- (6) The *Unemployment Section*, which, with a view to combating unemployment, deals with general problems of production from the standpoint of labour as well as from that of general economic conditions;
- (7) The *Industrial Health Section*, which prepares documentation on questions of industrial hygiene which may come before the General Conference, and on problems of industrial health and general studies connected therewith;
- (8) The *Safety Section* undertakes the study of all questions concerning the protection of workers against accident. It follows closely the factory inspection reports in the various countries and examines comparatively the results obtained;
- (9) The *Agricultural Section* keeps the International Labour Office informed as to the general movement for the protection of agricultural labour, and carries out certain special studies, such as those connected with technical agricultural education or the forms of agricultural co-operation. It also carries out scientific work in agreement with the mixed commission, the creation of which

was agreed upon with the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome;

- (10) The *Russian Section* is occupied in studying labour problems in South Russia. It collects all available documents relating to Russia, publishes the studies which appear from time to time as a contribution to the enquiries concerning conditions in Russia, and issues the Russian Supplement to the "*Industrial and Labour Information*."

THE SECTIONS OF THE INTELLIGENCE AND LIAISON DIVISION.—This Division has four sections: (1) the *General Section*; (2) the *International Relations Section*; (3) the *Sales and Publicity Section*; and (4) the *Library*.

- (1) The *General Section* has the following four sub-sections:

- (i) *Secretariat and Archives*.—This service collects all Press cuttings and prepares information files;
- (ii) *National Information Service*.—This service consists of a number of officials grouped according to language, whose task it is to follow, especially in the Press, the industrial and labour movement in their countries, to collect and study the most important information available, to provide material for the "*Industrial and Labour Information*" and for the "*Review*," and to supply the Chiefs of Division and the Director with useful observations regarding relations with the countries with which they are concerned;

- (iii) *Industrial and Labour Information Service*.—This service is responsible for the publication each week of the “*Industrial and Labour Information*,” in which is published the most important information collected by the International Labour Office;
 - (iv) *Translation Service*.—Although, generally speaking, each Division provides its own translators, this service has been established because the best translations demand on the part of the translators not only a knowledge of the various languages, but also that they should be closely concerned with the questions treated in the articles or documents to be translated. This service also serves as an emergency one for the use of all the Divisions.
- (2) The *International Relations Section*, which has the following four sub-sections :
- (i) *International Employers’ Organisations*.—This service is established to develop relations between the employers’ group on the Governing Body, the employers’ group on the General Conference and its Members;
 - (ii) *International Workers’ Organisations*.—The particular duties of this service are to maintain relations with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the international federations in various particular industries. In this service a member of the staff is specially concerned with the main-

tenance of relations with the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the federations in particular industries allied to it;

- (iii) The *Co-operative Service* follows from day to day the immense co-operative movement in its various forms, and maintains with it a contact that is of great value to the International Labour Office in its work;
 - (iv) The *Maritime Service* collects from day to day useful information concerning maritime labour and maintains correspondence with the organisations of employers and seamen.
- (3) The *Sales and Publicity Section*, by being in contact with the whole service of the Intelligence and Liaison Departments, is able to increase the distribution of International Labour Office publications among the Governments, the organisations and large bodies, thereby giving publicity to the International Labour Organisation's work.
- (4) The *Library Section* receives the brochures, newspapers, periodicals and books supplied by the industrial organisations all over the world. The Library is utilised by all the Divisions of the Labour Office.

THE SECTIONS OF THE DIPLOMATIC DIVISION.— This Division has four sections :

- (1) The *General Section*, which deals with official correspondence with the Governments, the Central Executive Organisation of the League

- of Nations and other official institutions. It provides the Secretariats of the Conference, the Governing Body and the Commissions;
- (2) The *Application of Conventions Section*.—In addition to the duties which are indicated by its title, this section is responsible for the publication of the “*Official Bulletin*” and of the “*Final Record*” of the Sessions of the Conference;
- (3) The *Disablement Section*, whose main work is to ensure that those who are disabled at work will profit by what has been done for those disabled during the war (prosthesis, vocational re-education, etc.);
- (4) The *Emigration Section* deals with all emigration problems, constant regard being given to diplomatic considerations, the intentions of Governments, national susceptibilities and rights of sovereignty.

AUXILIARY ORGANISATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.—These are bodies whose work the International Labour Office (1) directs, or (2) serves, or (3) co-operates with. They are of two classes :

- Class C.* Special Commissions, and,
Class D. Conferences of Experts.

SPECIAL COMMISSIONS.—The Special Commissions are joint, *i. e.* they include an equal number of employers’ and workers’ representatives. They submit resolutions or proposals to the Governing Body which fixes their sessions and agenda. Their work is to assist in preparing material for the resolutions of the Conference, or to assist the scientific studies of one or other of the Sections of the Office, to study certain

definite questions for interested parties, or to secure within the Office a more direct representation of certain industries.

CONFERENCES OF EXPERTS.—Conferences of Experts (who are, otherwise, Correspondents of the International Labour Office) are convened by the Director when required. They assist in the scientific work of the different sections of the Office, or judge the results of their work.

THE PRINCIPAL AUXILIARY ORGANISATIONS, CLASS C (SPECIAL COMMISSIONS).—Among the Auxiliary Organisations of Class C. are the following :

Works with
Maritime Ser-
vice of Intel-
ligence and
Liaison
Division.

Ca. The *Joint Maritime Commission* is composed of five shipowners, five seamen, two members chosen from among its members by the Governing Body, and, finally, the Chairman of the Governing Body. It deals with the measures of protection specially applicable to workers in the mercantile marine, and studies, before their examination by the General Conference, all questions of a maritime nature.

Under the control of the Governing Body, the Joint Maritime Commission inspires and directs the work of the Maritime Service of the Intelligence and Liaison Division of the Labour Organisation.

Cb. The *Anthrax Advisory Committee* was set up by the Governing Body in conformity with a resolution of the General Conference. Before meeting it began its work by correspondence. It deals with the prevention of anthrax, examines this question in all its aspects, and considers not only the disinfection of wool and hair suspected of infection with anthrax spores, but also the most practical and efficacious methods for preventing infection with anthrax of hides, skins and other products.

Works with
Emigration
Section of
Diplomatic
Division

Cc. The *Permanent Emigration Committee*.—A number of difficulties have delayed the actual institution of this Committee, the aim of which is to direct the general work undertaken by the Labour Office on emigration and of assisting the latter to solve various technical problems connected therewith.

Cd.	National Correspondent in London.			
Ce.	„	„	„	Paris.
Cf.	„	„	„	Rome.
Cg.	„	„	„	Tokyo.
Ch.	„	„	„	Berlin.
Ci.	„	„	„	Washington.

THE PRINCIPAL AUXILIARY ORGANISATIONS, CLASS D (CONFERENCES OF EXPERTS).—Among the Auxiliary Organisations of Class D are the following :

Da. The *Technical Commission on Unemployment* set up by the Governing Body in accordance with a resolution of the General Conference.

Db. The *Advisory Committee on Industrial Hygiene* is exclusively technical in character. The collaboration between the experts and the Office is carried out essentially by correspondence, but a small number of meetings attended by experts particularly competent in the question to be examined are held whenever a direct exchange of views seems desirable.¹

Dc. *Correspondence Committee on Social Insurance.*

Working with
the Disable-
ment Section
of the Diplo-
matic Division.

Dd. *Consultation of Experts on Questions concerning the Disabled.*

¹ In order to ensure liaison between the Health Committee of the Central Executive Organisation of the League of Nations and the Advisory Committee on Industrial Hygiene, the Health Committee of the Central Organisation sends a representative to sit on the Committee.

Working with
the Agricultural
Section
of the Re-
search Divi-
sion.

De. *Mixed Advisory Committee on Agriculture*.—This consists of three members of the Governing Body and three representatives of the International Institute of Agriculture. Its object is to co-ordinate methodically the work of the International Institute of Agriculture and that of the International Labour Office.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.—The internal administration of the International Labour Office is under the immediate control of the Deputy-Director. It is divided into four branches :

- (1) The *Establishment Branch*, which is in general control of the buying and the maintenance of material, is also responsible for all the material arrangements of the General Conference.
- (2) The *Printing Branch*, which is in charge of all printing business.
- (3) The *Accounts Branch*, which keeps all accounts and makes all payments of bills, salaries, claims for travelling allowances, etc., after they have been authorised for payment by the Control Branch.
- (4) The *Staff Branch*, which deals with all matters connected with the appointment of staff, the organisation of examinations and questions arising out of staff regulations.

THE DIRECTORATE.—Under the immediate control of the Director assisted by the Deputy-Director there is

the Cabinet, which acts as a General Secretariat and which co-ordinates all the work of the International Labour Office. This Directorate has three Central Services :

- (1) The *Legal Service*, whose work is intimately connected with that of the Diplomatic Division with regard to legal problems raised by Conventions and Recommendations, assists the Director with such legal advice as he may require.
- (2) The *Press Service* supervises, on behalf of the Director, all the communiqués sent out. It prepares the official communiqués of the Governing Body and of the Conference, and is specially entrusted with the general supervision of the relations with the Press.
- (3) The *Appropriation Branch* examines all expenses which it is proposed to incur, and assures itself that they are covered by the votes in the Budget.

THE CABINET, which is under a Chef de Cabinet, co-ordinates all the work of the International Labour Office. In it there is a special section under the immediate control of the Deputy-Director which is called the Secretariat of the Deputy-Director, and which deals specially with the financial administration of the International Labour Office and co-ordinates the work of the various branches of the Internal Administration.

THE DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.—The Director of the International Labour

Office, appointed by the Governing Body, is responsible for the efficient working of the International Labour Office.

The Director, or his Deputy, attends all meetings of the Governing Body.

The Director appoints the staff of the International Labour Office.

The Government Departments of any of the Member-States which deal with questions of industry and employment may communicate directly with the Director through the representatives of their Government on the Governing Body, or failing any such representative, through such other qualified official as the Government may nominate for the purpose.

The Director acts as Secretary to the General Conference and transmits the Agenda to the various Member-States.

The Director, together with the President of the General Conference, authenticate, by their signatures, the copy of the Recommendations and Draft Conventions which are deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for communication to the Member-States.

It is the duty of the Director to place before the Conference a summary of the reports from the Member-States with regard to the measures they have taken to give effect to the provisions of conventions to which they are a party.

The Director is also invited by the Council of the Central Executive Organisation to attend its meetings whenever an item on its Agenda presents an aspect directly concerning the interests of the workers.

The Director must ensure (a) that no liabilities are incurred or payments made except by officials designated by him for such purpose; (b) that no liabilities are

incurred which are not provided for in the Budget; and (c) that no payment is made for which the liability has ceased.

The Director must, besides, give every facility to the auditor of the Supervisory Commission for his audits of the accounts of the International Labour Organisation, and every information which the auditor may require for his reports to the Commission.

THE BUDGET OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION.—The Budget of the International Labour Organisation is prepared in draft by the Director. After examination by the Finance Committee of the International Labour Office, it is submitted to the Governing Body for approval or modification.

The Budget as drafted by the Finance Committee, together with the Estimates of the International Labour Organisation approved by the Governing Body, is forwarded by the Director of the International Labour Office to the Secretary-General for communication to the Supervisory Commission.

These documents are examined by the Supervisory Commission, which reports thereon in time for the documents and the report to reach the Council and the Member-States at least three months before the regular annual session of the Assembly.

The observations of the Council upon the Budget and upon the report of the Supervisory Commission are despatched to the Member-States and should reach them at least one month before the opening date of the Assembly.

The Assembly does not consider the Budget in plenary session until its Finance Committee has considered the Budget and the report of the Commission and has presented its own report.

The Governing Body has ample opportunity to defend its views with regard to its Budget. Thus, when the Supervisory Commission is examining the Budget of the International Labour Organisation, the Governing Body is represented before the Commission by four of its Members.¹

Also, when the Assembly or its Finance Committee discusses the Budget of the International Labour Organisation, that Organisation may delegate one representative to assist at the meetings of the Assembly, and as many representatives, as the Finance Committee may approve, to assist at the meetings of the Finance Committee.

¹ Of these four Members, two are selected from the delegates of the Governments, one from the employers' delegates and one from the workers' delegates. The Governing Body has power to decide whether the Director or Deputy-Director of the International Labour Office shall be added to the delegation.

ORGANISATION CHART

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

GENERAL CONFERENCE (pp. 57-65).

Committees of General Conference

(pp. 60-61).

Officers of General Conference (p. 59).

President (p. 59).

Director (p. 61).

GOVERNING BODY (pp. 61-65).

Chairman (p. 62).

LABOUR ORGANISATION AND CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANISATION

L.O.=Representative of Labour Organisation in Assembly (p. 80).

P₁=Panel for Commission
of Enquiry
(pp. 65, 102).

S.C. = Supervisory Commission
(p. 80).

D = Director
and Council
(p. 78).

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE (pp. 65-80).

Auxiliary Organisations CLASS C (pp. 73-74).

Auxiliary Organisations CLASS D (pp. 75-76).

DIVISIONS OF LABOUR OFFICE

Research Division (pp. 66-69).

SECTIONS OF RESEARCH DIVISION (pp. 67-69).

Intelligence and Liaison Division (pp. 66, 69-71).

SECTIONS OF INTELLIGENCE AND LIAISON DIVISION (pp. 69-71).

Diplomatic Division (pp. 67, 71-72).

SECTIONS OF DIPLOMATIC DIVISION (pp. 71-72).

Internal Administration (p. 76).

Directorate (pp. 76-77).

Cabinet (p. 77).

S.D.D. (SECRETARIAT OF DEPUTY DIRECTOR) (p. 77).

Deputy Director (p 76).

Director (pp. 77-79).

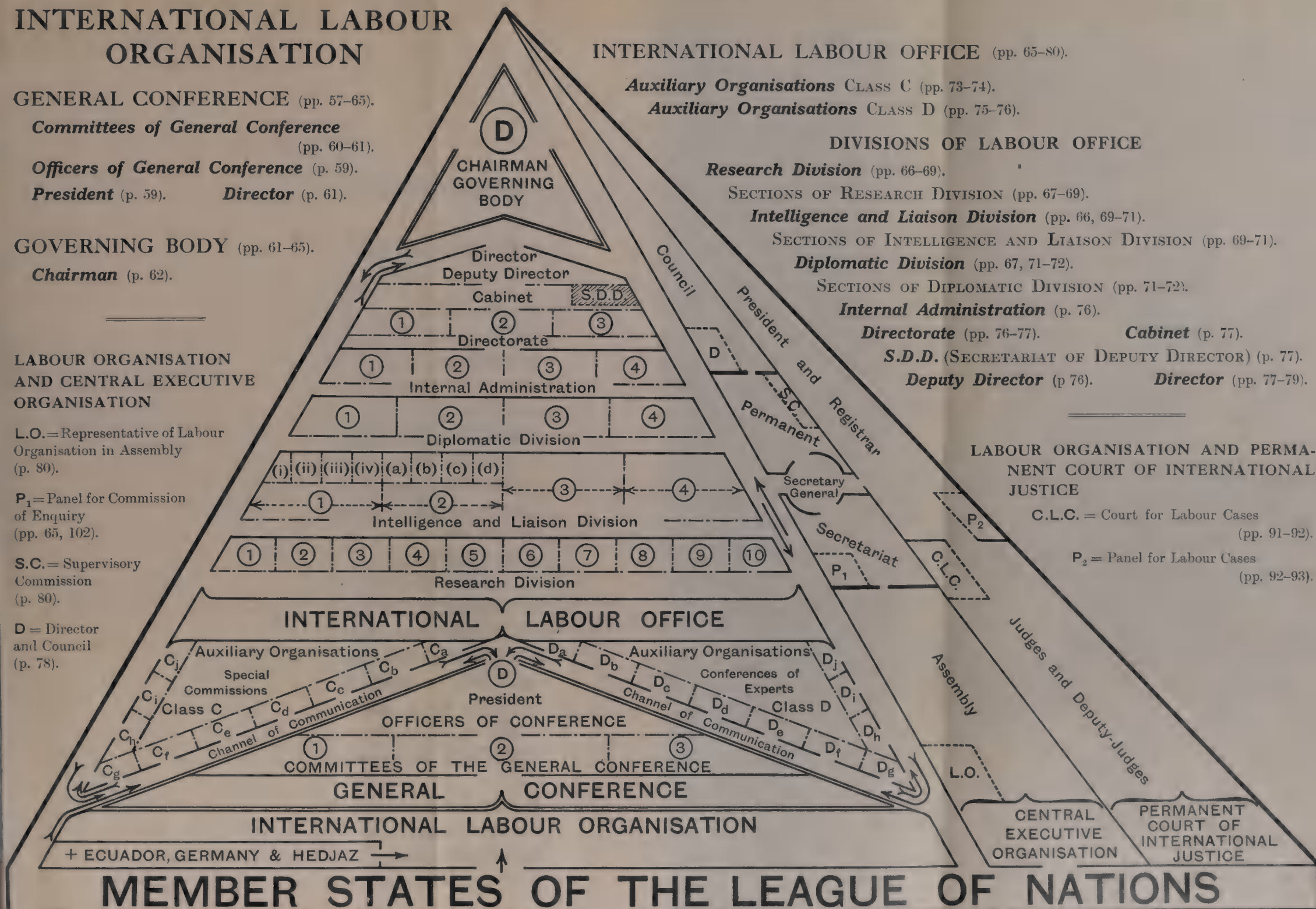


FIG. 7.

VI

THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

(NOTE.—*This Chapter should be read in conjunction with Diagram facing p. 96.*)

THE League of Nations stands for international peace and security, based upon social justice. That ideal, which must pervade all the League's actions, it is impossible to develop in an atmosphere of uncertainty and international suspicion. Its very existence must depend upon international confidence and justice.

By initiating the Permanent Court of International Justice, the League of Nations has brought into being, for the first time in history, not only an international Court of Law, but also one which is so constituted that its international impartiality is unassailable and, therefore, commands universal respect and trust.

The seat of the Permanent Court of International Justice is at the Hague. Its sessions are held in the Palace of Peace, that magnificent structure which epitomises the international peace efforts of the Conferences of 1899 and 1907, and which gives material expression to the desires of the organisers of those peace movements to provide a permanent machinery to safeguard international peace.

Previous to the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Palace of Peace was the Headquarters of the Court of Arbitration which still holds its sessions there, but the formal establishment

of that Court was all that the Peace Conference of 1907 was able to achieve. The League of Nations, when it created the Court of International Justice, was desirous of showing that the Conferences of 1899 and 1907 had not been forgotten. It was in the interests both of justice and of expediency that the connection should be preserved between what had been accomplished by the Hague Conferences and the establishment of the new Court launched by the League. In truth, as will be seen in the course of this chapter, the most difficult problem in establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice, namely, a method of appointing the Judges of the Court acceptable to all nations, large and small, was only solved by adapting certain features of the Hague Arbitration Court to the special machinery of the League of Nations.

The Permanent Court of International Justice is absolutely independent in the consideration of problems submitted to it. It operates under a definite Statute. This Statute defines exactly the rules which govern the organisation of the Court, the scope of its jurisdiction, and the law to be administered by the Court. It has been evolved by the League; but it became operative only through, and after, independent ratification by the Member-States. The League of Nations, as a League, has, therefore, no power to modify the Statute of the Court. The Court's Statute safeguards the independence of Judges by providing that the Judges cannot be removed during the term of their office.

This independence of the Permanent Court of International Justice, taken in conjunction with the fact that the greatest possible care is given to secure an absolutely impartial composition of the Court, ensures that the Court can be relied upon to give decisions

strictly from the standpoint of international justice, and not from that of politics.

In the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, careful consideration was given to the special nature of disputes arising out of labour questions, concerning which a number of international conventions, to which would be continually added those brought about by the activities of the International Labour Organisation, were already in existence. Special rules have, consequently, been laid down at the suggestion of the International Labour Office. Under these rules the Court, in dealing with a labour case, is obliged to call in assessors, not only as experts, but also to sit with the Judges in an advisory capacity. But although it is provided that they will attend the deliberations in order that the Court may have the advantage of their experience and specialised knowledge, these assessors do not take part in the decision.

The authors of this arrangement had in view two main objects. In the first place they wanted to make it clear that, in order to settle technical questions, mere legal knowledge, however great, was not sufficient; and, secondly, they were desirous that the great masses, who, all over the world, take an active interest in labour questions, should have confidence in the decisions of the League of Nations' Tribunal.

The Permanent Court of International Justice plays the supreme judicial rôle with regard to the decisions of a Commission of Enquiry which may be set up at the request of the International Labour Organisation to consider the non-observance by a State of a Convention ratified by it.

As regards Communications and Transit, the League of Nations has a judicial task which has been assigned

to it by the various Treaties of Peace.¹ Consequently, there has been introduced into the constitution of the Permanent Court special machinery to deal with Transit and Communications cases.

The Permanent Court of International Justice is the logical and juridical expression of the spirit of the new international co-operation which led to the establishment of the League and which gives it its life. The Court of International Justice is in addition to the Court of Arbitration organised by the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, and to the special Tribunals of Arbitration to which States are at liberty to submit their disputes for settlement.

ORGANS OF THE COURT.—The Permanent Court of International Justice consists of :

- (1) A Court of Judges and Deputy-Judges, appointed through the Central Organisation of the League, and
- (2) A President and Registrar who are required to reside at the Hague, the seat of the Court.

THE COURT OF JUDGES AND DEPUTY-JUDGES

COMPOSITION.—The Court consists of fifteen members; eleven Judges and four Deputy-Judges,² elected regardless of their nationality from amongst persons of high moral character, who possess qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or who are jurisconsults of recognised competence in international law.

¹ Part XII of the Treaty of Versailles (and the corresponding Part of the other Treaties) deals with international aspects of questions referring to Ports, Waterways and Railways and their relation to the League of Nations.

² The number of Judges and Deputy-Judges may be increased by the Assembly, upon the proposal of the Council of the League of Nations, to a total of fifteen Judges and six Deputy-Judges.

The Constitution of the Permanent Court of International Justice recommends that not only should all the persons appointed as members of the Court possess the qualifications required, but the whole body should also represent the main forms of civilisation and the principal legal systems of the world.

The members of the Court are elected for nine years, and may be re-elected.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE COURT.—No Member of the Court can be dismissed unless, in the opinion of the other Members, he has ceased to fulfil the required conditions. This confers on the Court its complete judicial independence.

LIST FROM WHICH JUDGES AND DEPUTY-JUDGES ARE ELECTED.—The Judges and the Deputy-Judges are elected by the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations, independently of one another, from a list of Candidates, prepared in alphabetical order by the Secretary-General of the League.

This list contains all the names of the candidates sent in, at the request of the Secretary-General by

- (1) The national groups ¹ of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (Hague Convention, 1907) of the *Member-States* of the League *signatories* to the Hague Convention;
- (2) The national groups ¹ of the Permanent Court of Arbitration of the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant but not yet members of the League;
- (3) The national groups ¹—specially nominated for the occasion of the election of the judges

¹ In accordance with Article 44, which prescribes the conditions governing the nomination of the Members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration set up by the Hague Convention of 1907, each Contracting Power selects four persons (constituting a *national group*)

of the Permanent Court of International Justice—of the *Member-States* of the League *non-signatories* to the Hague Convention.

No group may nominate more than four persons, not more than two of whom shall be of their own nationality. In no case must the number of candidates nominated by one group be more than double the number of seats to be filled.

Before making their nomination, each *National Group* is recommended to consult its Highest Court of Justice, its Legal Faculties and Schools of Law, and its National Academies and National Sections of International Academies devoted to the study of Law.

ELECTION OF JUDGES AND DEPUTY-JUDGES.—The alphabetical list of candidates prepared by the Secretary-General, as explained in the previous paragraph, is submitted to the Assembly and to the Council of the League of Nations.

The Assembly and the Council proceed, independently of one another, to elect, first the Judges, then the Deputy-Judges.

of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of Arbitrator.

The persons thus selected are inscribed, as Members of the Court of Arbitration, in a list communicated to all the Contracting Powers, which are notified of any alteration made in the list.

Two or more Powers may agree on the selection in common of one or more members, and the same person may be selected by different Powers.

In order to take part in the nomination of candidates for judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice to be included in the list of the Secretary-General, the Member-States of the League *not* represented in the Court of Arbitration are entitled to nominate the same number of similarly qualified representatives, and having the same standing as the Members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

Those candidates who obtain an absolute majority of votes in the Assembly and in the Council are considered as elected.

In the event of more than one national of the same Member-State being elected by the votes of both the Assembly and the Council, the eldest of these only is considered as elected.

If, after the first meeting, held for the purpose of the election, one or more seats remain to be filled, a second, and, if necessary, a third meeting takes place.

If, after the third meeting, one or more seats still remain unfilled, a joint conference consisting of six members, three appointed by the Assembly and three by the Council, may be formed at any time, at the request of either the Assembly or the Council, for the purpose of choosing one name for each seat still vacant, to submit to the Assembly and the Council for their respective acceptance.

If the conference is unanimously agreed upon any person who fulfils the required conditions, he may be included in its list, even though he may not be included in the list of nominations of the Court of Arbitration.

If the joint conference is satisfied that it will not be successful in procuring an election, those members of the Court who have already been appointed shall, within a period to be fixed by the Council, proceed to fill the vacant seats by selection from among those Candidates who have obtained votes either in the Assembly or the Council.

In the event of an equality of votes among the Judges, the eldest Judge uses a casting vote.

Vacancies which occur are filled by the same method as that laid down for the first election.

A member of the Court elected to replace a member whose period of appointment had not expired holds the

appointment for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

Every member of the Court, before taking up his duties, makes a solemn declaration in open Court that he will exercise his powers conscientiously and impartially.

SESSIONS.—Unless otherwise provided, a Session of the Court is held every year, commencing on the 15th June, and continuing for so long as is necessary to finish the cases on the list.

An extraordinary Session of the Court may be summoned by the President whenever necessary.

The seat of the Court is at the Hague.

NATIONALITIES OF DISPUTANTS AND JUDGES.—Judges of the nationality of each contesting party retain their right to sit in a case before the Court.

If the Court includes upon the Bench a Judge of the nationality of one of the parties only, the other party may select, from among the Deputy-Judges, a Judge of its nationality, if there be one. If there should not be one, the party may choose a Judge, preferably from among those persons who have been nominated as candidates by the national groups of the Hague Court of Arbitration.

If the Court includes upon the Bench no Judge of the nationality of the contesting parties, each of these may select or choose a Judge as provided in the preceding paragraph.

Should there be several parties in the same interest, they are, for the purpose of the preceding provisions, reckoned as one party only. Any doubt upon this point is settled by the decision of the Court.

All Judges take part in the decision on an equal footing.

COMPETENCE OF THE COURT.—The Court is open to the Member-States of the League of Nations, and also to States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant of the League ¹ of Nations.

The conditions under which the Court is open to other States is, subject to the special provisions contained in Treaties in force, laid down by the Council, but in no case are such provisions to place the parties in a position of inequality before the Court.

When a State, which is not a Member-State of the League of Nations, is a party to a dispute, the Court fixes the amount which that party is to contribute towards the expenses of the Court.

JURISDICTION OF THE COURT.—The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it, and all matters specially provided for in Treaties and Conventions in force. This means that one of the parties to a dispute has no right to summon the other party before the Court unless the other party has bound itself by treaty or agreement to submit to the Court either the particular dispute, or all disputes of a class in which the particular dispute is comprised.

AGREEMENT FOR COMPULSORY JURISDICTION.—Members of the League of Nations, and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant,¹ may declare that they recognise, as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member-State, or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning the following matters :

- (1) The interpretation of a Treaty ;
- (2) Any question of International Law ;

¹ See p. 144.

- (3) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of International Law; or
- (4) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

The declaration may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of certain States, or for a certain time.

In the event of a dispute arising as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the Court itself decides this point.

LAW TO BE ADMINISTERED BY THE COURT.—The law which the Court applies is :

- (1) International Conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognised by the contesting State;
- (2) International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;
- (3) The general principles of law, recognised by civilised nations;
- (4) Subject to certain provisions,¹ judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

THE FOUR DIVISIONS OF THE COURT.—The Court may sit as :

- (1) A Full Court;
- (2) A Court for Labour Cases;

¹ These provisions are that the decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of the particular case considered by the Court.

- (3) A Court for Transit and Communications Cases;
- (4) A Court of Summary Procedure.

THE FULL COURT.—The Full Court sits except when it is expressly provided otherwise. If eleven Judges cannot be present the number is made up by calling upon Deputy-Judges to sit. If, however, eleven Judges are not available, a quorum of nine Judges is sufficient to constitute the Court.

SPECIAL DUTIES ASSIGNED TO THE COURT BY THE PEACE TREATIES.—There are in all the Treaties of Peace clauses for the protection of racial minorities; and disputes regarding the carrying into effect of these clauses are to be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. In the draft Mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine, the Court's decision is to be evoked in disputes which may arise, between the Mandatory and another Member of the League, with regard to the interpretation or application of the provisions of the Mandate, if such a dispute be not settled by negotiation.

THE COURT FOR LABOUR CASES.—Labour cases arising from the provisions of the International Labour Organisation are heard and determined by the Permanent Court of International Justice under the following conditions: The Court appoints every three years a special Chamber of five Judges. In addition, two Judges are elected to replace a Judge who finds it impossible to sit. If the parties so demand, the cases will be heard and determined by this Chamber; but in the absence of such demand the Full Court will sit. In all Labour cases, however, the Judges will be assisted by four technical assessors sitting with them,

but without the right to vote, and chosen with a view to ensuring a just representation of the competing interests.

If there be a national of one only of the parties sitting as a Judge in the Chamber, the President will invite one of the other Judges to retire in favour of a Judge chosen by the other party.

APPOINTMENT OF SPECIAL CHAMBER FOR LABOUR CASES.—The President is *ex officio* the President of the Chamber for Labour Cases. He submits to the Court proposals for filling the remaining seats in that Chamber.

Members, proposed by the President, are selected by secret ballot; and the Judges who obtain a majority of votes are appointed. Should it prove impossible to fill the required number of places in this way, the Court then proposes for the approval of the President one Candidate for each vacant place.

LIST FROM WHICH ASSESSORS FOR LABOUR CASES ARE CHOSEN.—The technical assessors are chosen for each particular case from a list of "*Assessors for Labour Cases*" composed of two persons nominated by each Member-State of the League, and a similar number nominated by the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation. The nominees of the Governing Body are to be half representatives of the workers and half representatives of the employers from the panel nominated for the requirements of the International Labour Organisation for the purposes of the Commission of Enquiry.

THE SELECTION OF ASSESSORS FOR LABOUR CASES.—The Assessors for each particular Labour Case are proposed by the President and selected, by secret

ballot, by the Judges. Those who obtain a majority are appointed. Should it prove impossible to fill the required number of places this way, the Court then proposes for the approval of the President one candidate for each vacant place.

PRIVILEGE OF LABOUR OFFICE IN LABOUR CASES.—In Labour cases the International Labour Office is entitled to furnish the Court with all relevant information, and for this purpose the Director of the Office receives copies of all the written proceedings.

THE COURT FOR TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATIONS CASES.—Cases relating to transit and communications are heard and determined by the Permanent Court of International Justice under the following conditions:

The Court appoints every three years a special Chamber of five Judges. In addition, two Judges are selected for the purpose of replacing a Judge who finds it impossible to sit. If the parties so demand, cases will be heard and determined by this Chamber. In the absence of any such demand the Full Court will sit.

When desired by the parties, or decided by the Court, the Judges are assisted by four technical assessors sitting with them, but without the right to vote.¹

If there is a national of one only of the parties sitting as a Judge in the Chamber, the President will invite one of the other Judges to retire in favour of a Judge chosen by the other party.

The President is, *ex officio*, the President of the Chamber for Transit and Communications cases.

¹ According to the decision of the third Assembly, technical assessors for Transit and Communications Cases are to be paid for by the parties when they sit at the request of the latter.

THE ASSESSORS FOR TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATIONS CASES.—The technical assessors are chosen for each particular case from a list of “*Assessors for Transit and Communications Cases*” composed of two persons nominated by each Member-State of the League of Nations.

They are proposed by the President of the Court and selected, by secret ballot, by the Judges. Those who obtain a majority are appointed. Should it prove impossible to fill the required number of places this way, the Court then proposes for the approval of the President one candidate for each vacant place.

COURT OF SUMMARY PROCEDURE.—With a view to the speedy despatch of business, the Permanent Court of International Justice forms annually a Chamber composed of three Judges who, at the request of the contesting parties, may hear and determine such cases by summary procedure.

The President is, *ex officio*, the President of the Court of Summary Procedure.

JUDGMENTS OF THE COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.—All questions are decided by a majority of the Judges present at a hearing. In the event of an equality of votes the President, or his Deputy, has a casting vote.

A judgment must state the reasons on which it is based, and must contain the names of the Judges taking part in the decision. If it does not represent, in whole or in part, the unanimous opinion of the Judges, dissenting Judges are entitled to deliver a separate opinion.

The judgment is signed by the President and the Registrar and is read in open Court. It is final and without appeal.

In the event of dispute as to its meaning or scope, the Court is to construe it upon the request of any party.

An application may be made to the Court for revision of a judgment, if based on the discovery of a new fact of a decisive nature, but the application must be made within six months after the discovery of the new fact, and within ten years after the date of the judgment.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE REGISTRAR

The President and the Vice-President are elected by the Full Court for three years and may be re-elected.

The Full Court also appoints its Registrar, whose duties are "not deemed incompatible with those of the Secretary-General of the Permanent Court of Arbitration."

Both the President and the Registrar are required to reside at the Hague, the seat of the Court.

THE REGISTRAR.—The Registrar is the channel for all communications to and from the Court. He ensures that the date of despatch and of receipt of all communications may easily be verified.

He is responsible for the archives, the accounts and all administrative work. He has the custody of the seals and stamps of the Court. He is present at all meetings of the Full Court, and he, or a person appointed to represent him with the approval of the Court, attends the meetings of the various Chambers and is responsible for drawing up the minutes of these meetings.

The Registrar appoints the staff of his Secretariat, in accordance with the principles underlying nomina-

tions in the Permanent Secretariat of the Central Executive Organisation of the League.

THE PRESIDENT.—Generally speaking, the President fulfils, in the Court of International Justice, a function analogous to that of the Secretary-General in the Central Executive Organisation of the League. The Full Court occupies a position analogous to that of the Council.

ORGANISATION CHART

PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

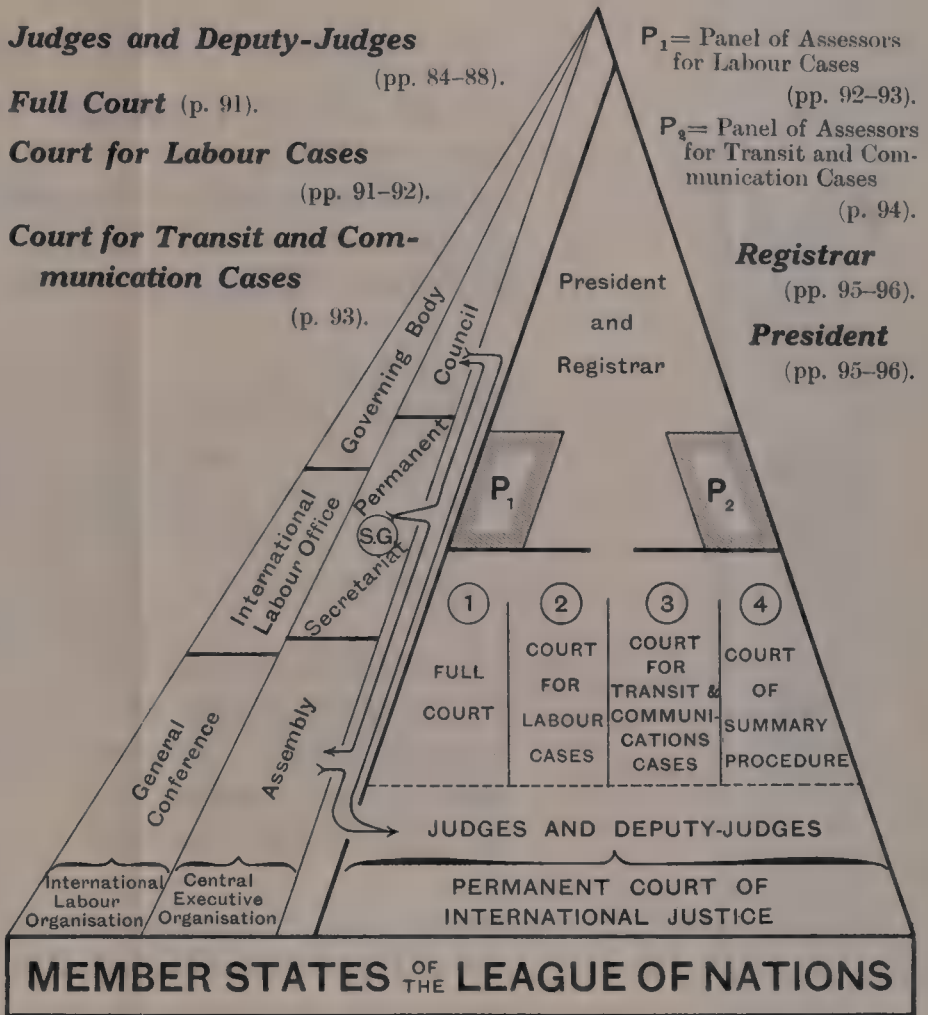


FIG. 8.

[To face p. 96.

VII

THE LEAGUE'S MACHINERY IN ACTION

WHILST the particular machinery of the Central Executive Organisation of the League of Nations deals with international problems mainly from the political view-point, that of the International Labour Organisation considers them essentially from the industrial and social standpoint.

But it is often very difficult, if not impossible, satisfactorily to tackle an international question without studying, at the same time, all its aspects, whether they be political, industrial or social. Hence it is of vital necessity that the mechanism of those two organisations should be able to work in conjunction, and smoothly, with each other.

Besides, it is clear that the success achieved by international co-operation in one direction paves the way for success in another direction. Thus, however autonomous they may be, the various organisations of the League, in a great measure, depend on one another for their evolution.

By extensive and close co-operation, the Central Executive Organisation and the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations have, ever since their creation, unceasingly united their efforts towards their essentially common aim. For instance, the various sections of the two Organisations are, at every point of contact, ever contributing to the fund of data and knowledge which it is their function to

increase and to render as complete, as reliable and as up-to-date and useful as possible.

"Through the practice of collaboration," writes M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Organisation, "all the officials of the various institutions are becoming increasingly conscious of their participation in a common work of peace and organisation."

Co-operating with the Central Executive Organisation and the Labour Organisation of the League, there is the machinery, outlined in the preceding chapter, of the Permanent Court of International Justice which, for the enthronement of international law, is continuously developing such international jurisprudence, at present in its infancy, as can only be supplied by the progressive judgments of a Permanent Court working out its own traditions.

The co-operative machinery of the League of Nations is set in action for so many particular purposes, and is employed in so many different directions, that no attempt will here be made to enumerate them all; but, by way of illustration, a few characteristic examples will now be given of the way in which the *League's machinery works as a unit*, and of the results which it thus achieves.

In the previous chapters, the Sections or Departments of the various Organisations have been tabulated and their separate individual functions defined. Here are recorded some instances of *Activity* initiated in some particular Department and weaving in and out of two or three other Departments, returning, and finally accomplishing a work of close co-operation.

The Election of a New Member-State.

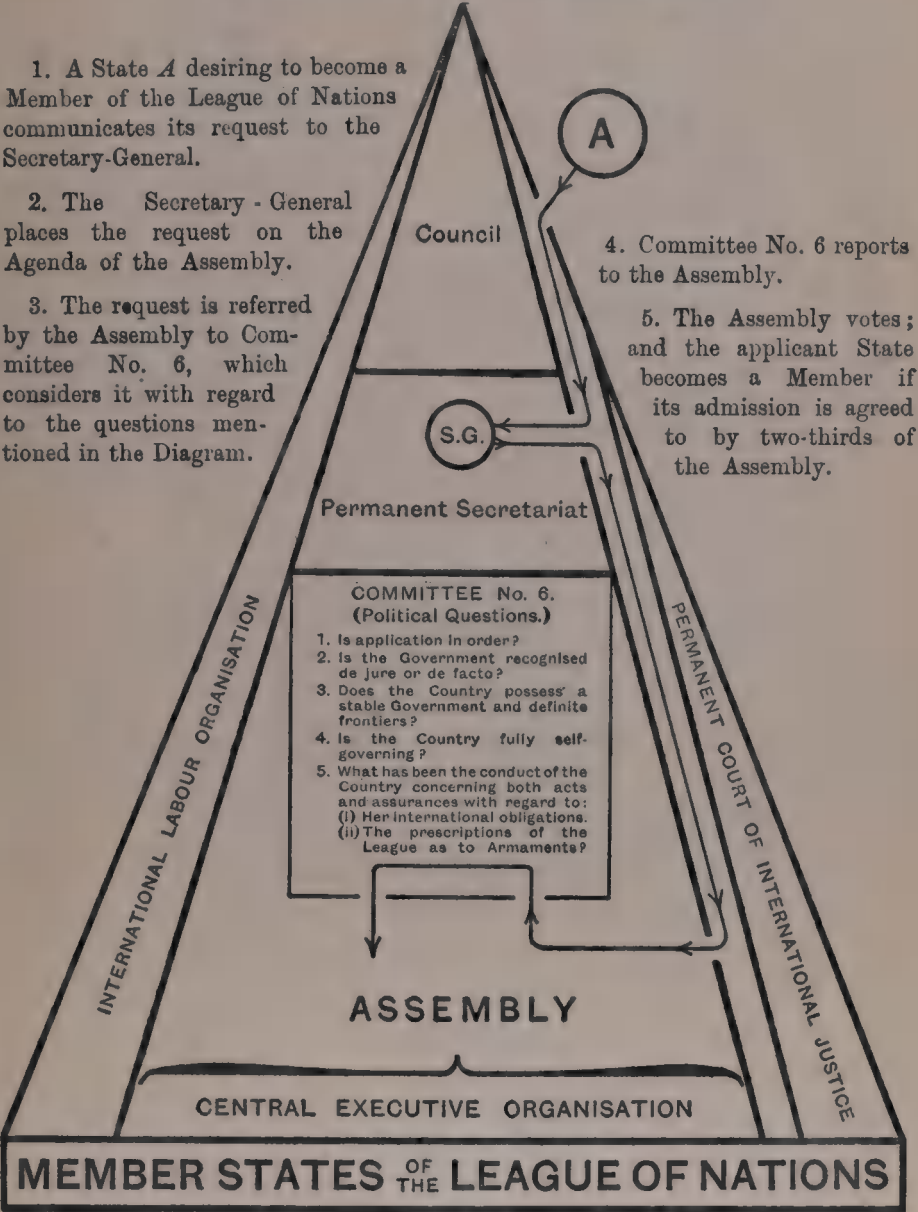


FIG. 9.

THE ELECTION OF JUDGES of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

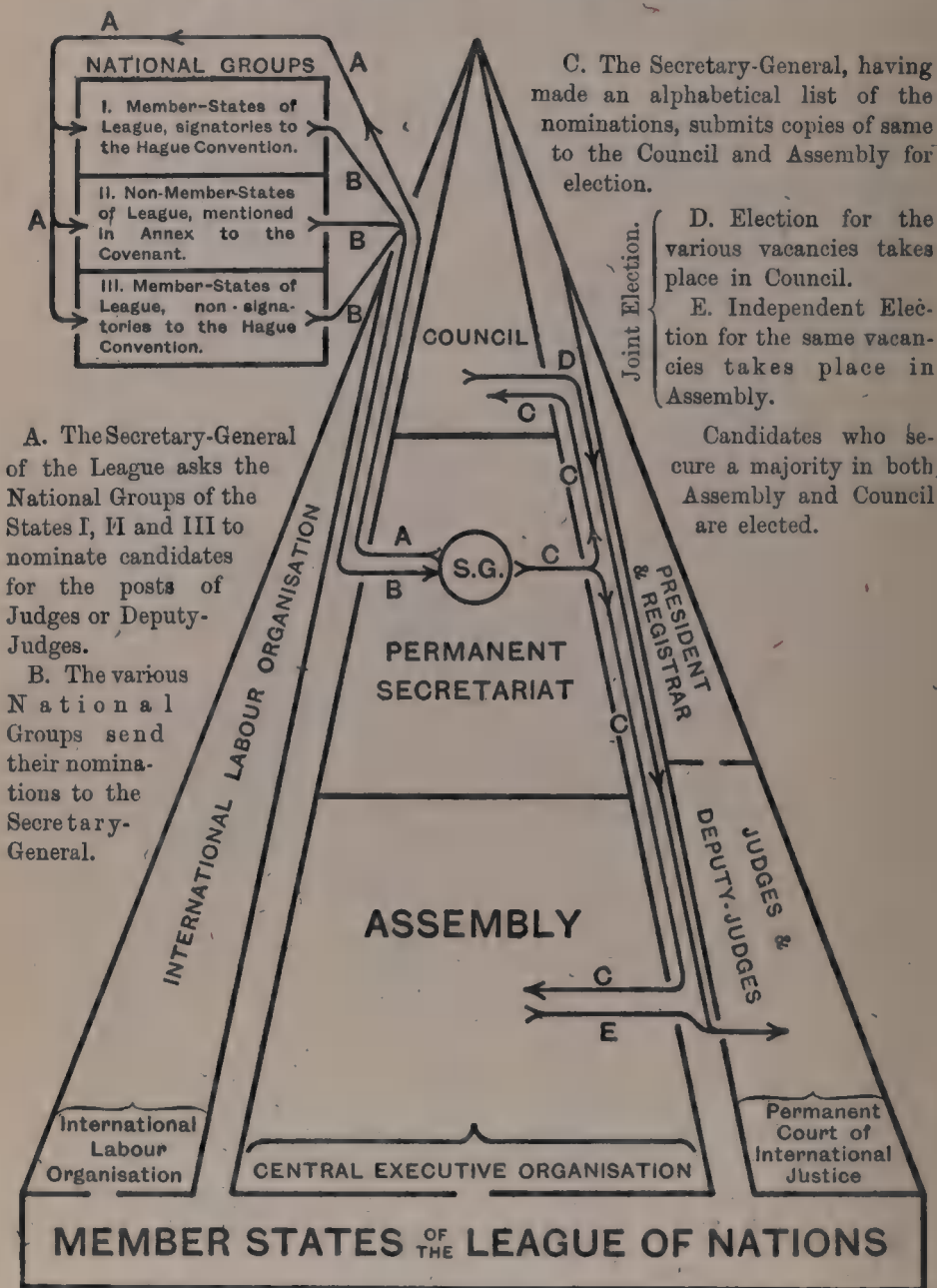


FIG. 10.

THE BUDGET: Determining and Allocating the Annual Expenses.

1. *The International Labour Organisation:* The Budget drafted by the Director is examined by the Finance Committee of the Governing Body. It is then discussed by the Governing Body, which may approve or amend it.

The Director then requests the Secretary-General to transmit to the Supervisory Commission the Budget as approved by the Governing Body. After consideration and discussion with the responsible officials, the Supervisory Commission reports on it.

The report together with the Governing Body's Budget is transmitted by the Secretary-General to the Council and the Member-States not later than three months before the opening of the Assembly.

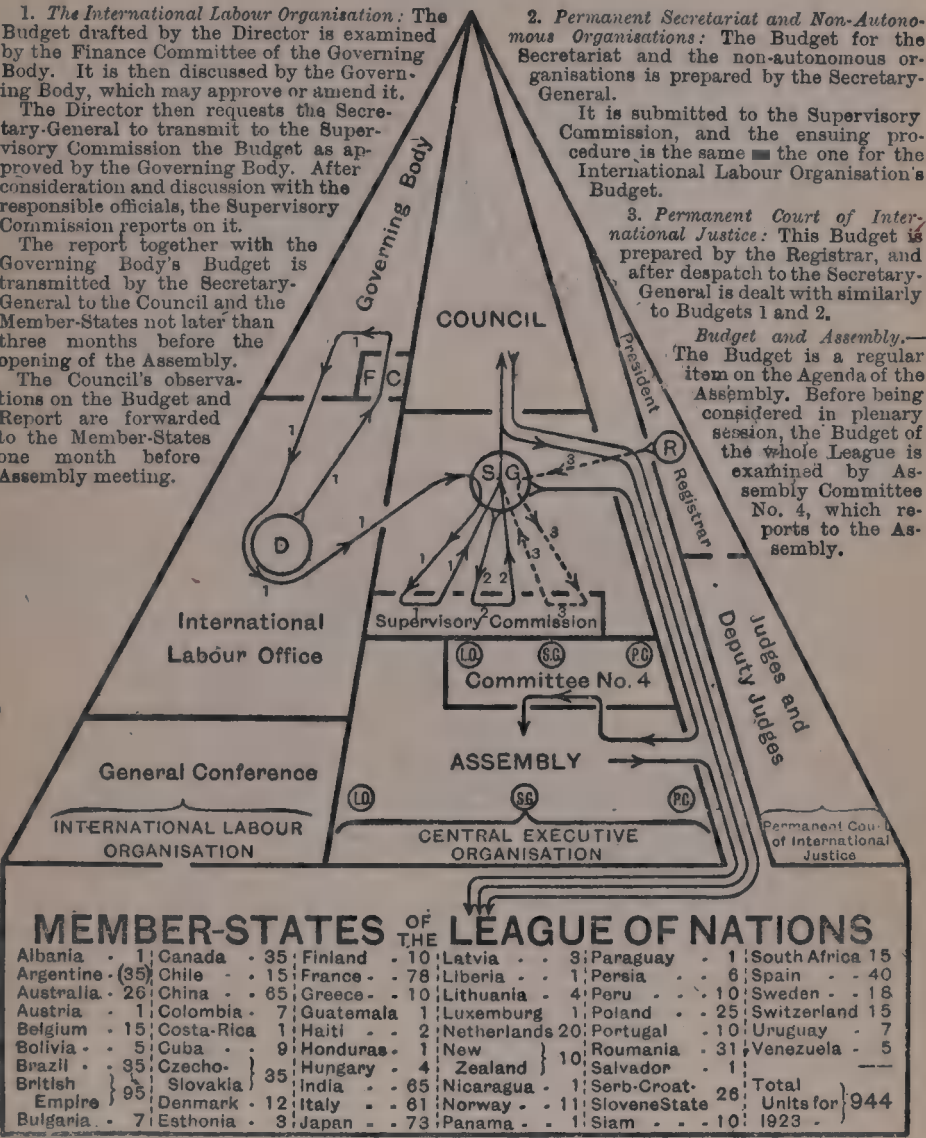
The Council's observations on the Budget and Report are forwarded to the Member-States one month before Assembly meeting.

2. *Permanent Secretariat and Non-Autonomous Organisations:* The Budget for the Secretariat and the non-autonomous organisations is prepared by the Secretary-General.

It is submitted to the Supervisory Commission, and the ensuing procedure is the same as the one for the International Labour Organisation's Budget.

3. *Permanent Court of International Justice:* This Budget is prepared by the Registrar, and after despatch to the Secretary-General is dealt with similarly to Budgets 1 and 2.

Budget and Assembly.—The Budget is a regular item on the Agenda of the Assembly. Before being considered in plenary session, the Budget of the whole League is examined by Assembly Committee No. 4, which reports to the Assembly.



After the Assembly has voted the Budget, the expenses are allocated among the Member-States, each contributing in proportion to a pre-determined number of units.

The letters "L.O.," "S.G." and "P.C." in Committee No. 4 and in the Assembly denote that the International Labour Organisation, the Secretary-General, and the Permanent Court of International Justice are represented in these bodies when their respective budgets are being discussed.

FIG. 11.

6. The Secretary-General informs States *A* and *B* of the finding of the Commission of Enquiry.

7 and 8. Both *A* and *B* have a right to appeal against the decision of the Commission of Enquiry and to ask Secretary-General to bring matter before Permanent Court of International Justice.

9. Matter referred to Registrar.

10. Fixed for hearing before Court for Labour cases.

11. Technical Assessors sit, in an advisory capacity, in Court for Labour cases.



Dealing with a Dispute between two Member-States.

Disputants.—Dispute likely to lead to rupture between two Member-States, A and B. It is not submitted to Arbitration or judicial settlement. According to Covenant, A and B must submit matter to Council.

Steps to be taken.

- Step 1. One disputant, say A, gives notice to S.G., and makes statement of his case.
- Step 2. S.G. communicates with B, asking it to make statement.
- Step 3. B sends full statement to S.G.
- Step 4. S.G. makes arrangements and places matter before Council.

Preliminary Action.—Disputant, if not represented on Council, is invited to send Representative to sit as Member at Meetings considering dispute.

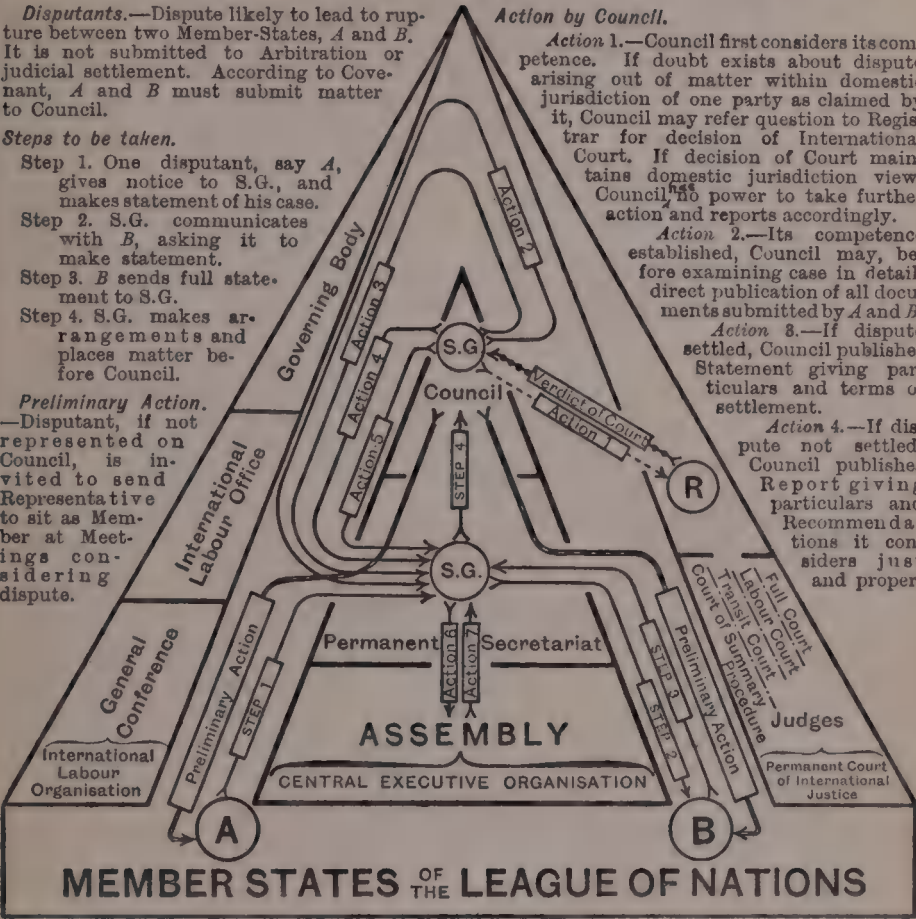
Action by Council.

Action 1.—Council first considers its competence. If doubt exists about dispute arising out of matter within domestic jurisdiction of one party as claimed by it, Council may refer question to Registrar for decision of International Court. If decision of Court maintains domestic jurisdiction view, Council has power to take further action and reports accordingly.

Action 2.—Its competence established, Council may, before examining case in detail, direct publication of all documents submitted by A and B.

Action 3.—If dispute settled, Council publishes Statement giving particulars and terms of settlement.

Action 4.—If dispute not settled, Council publishes Report giving particulars and Recommendations it considers just and proper.



- Action 5.**—Council may refer dispute to Assembly.
- Action by Assembly.**
- Action 6.**—S.G. having placed question on Agenda, matter is taken up by Assembly.
- Action 7.**—Assembly, after considering dispute, takes appropriate steps and publishes Report of results.
- Member's Rights and Obligations.**—Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding same.
- If a question is referred by the Council to the Permanent Court of International Justice the parties to the dispute decide whether they desire the question settled by the Full Court or by the Court of Summary Procedure.
- If a Report of the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than one or more of the disputants, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any disputant complying with the recommendations of the report.

FIG. 13.

VIII

WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS DONE IN THE SERVICE OF A NEW WORLD-ORDER

IX

THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF AUSTRIA

THE war broke up into several units the various countries which, until 1918, constituted the Austro-Hungarian Empire. One of these units had been set up as the Austrian Republic by the Treaty of St. Germain, the first part of which, like that of the other Treaties which concluded the World War, consists of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The fact that all these Peace Treaties demanded the acceptance by their signatories of the conditions of international co-operation laid down in the Covenant of the League is of very great significance. It indicates that those nations to whose lot it fell to re-draw a considerable portion of the map of Europe, had realised their responsibility with regard to the future of the old States they had reduced in size, and to the new States they had created. And the League of Nations was, and is, the machinery provided for the carrying out of this international responsibility.

The Austria which signed the Treaty of St. Germain is, neither geographically nor politically, the Austria which, previously, directed the fortunes of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Vienna, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is still the capital of the new Austrian Republic; but Vienna, to-day, is the chief town of a State of only about six million inhabitants, whereas, before the Treaty of St. Germain, it was the nerve-centre of a highly organised Empire of fifty million inhabitants.

It was from Vienna that the Empire of the Hapsburgs was administered in all its numerous activities, political, financial, social, economic and intellectual. The vast administration that was needed to direct the affairs of fifty million people had made of Vienna a city whose two million inhabitants depended for their subsistence



FIG. 14.—Sketch map showing size and position of the present-day Austrian Republic relative to the pre-war Austro-Hungarian Empire.

entirely upon the importation into the city of the necessities of life from long distances away. The pre-war Vienna was admirably linked by rail with all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The railways still exist; but they do not run, as previously, through the system of one single Empire. The old Austro-Hungarian railway had now been broken up into several sections over the various States which have

since emerged from the former Empire. It no longer links together the different parts of a political whole; but, instead, it traverses the territory of a number of States, newly made independent, not always inclined to be friendly to the new Austrian Republic, and having, besides, difficult post-war problems of their own to solve.

When, therefore, the Austrian Republic was established by the Treaty of St. Germain, Vienna with its two million inhabitants found itself suddenly isolated from its former sources of supply.

Nor was the new Austrian Republic in the position to make a fresh start. The Government of a population of six million souls commenced its work with the existing Vienna administration machinery which, as already mentioned, had been evolved to meet the needs of a State of fifty million inhabitants. In fact, when the new Government of the Austrian Republic took up its duties it found itself saddled with an administrative service consisting of a vastly larger number of officials than was warranted by the smaller population of the new State.

Since the Government, with excessively curtailed resources, was forced to keep up a number of civil servants and of railway employees totally out of proportion to its population, which, in addition, had been ruined by the war, it is not surprising that the situation became in a short time economically impossible. It soon became evident that the Austrian people, who had been deprived of the greater part of what they had grown to regard as their natural resources, could not, by their own energy alone, accomplish their economic and financial recovery.

In spite of the greatest efforts which it made to raise the maximum taxation which the population was

capable of bearing, the Austrian Government found itself unable to meet the State's expenditure with its own resources, and incapable of arresting the ever-increasing circulation of paper money. Thus it was, that privation and distress grew apace, until there was a distinct danger that Hunger, a bad counsellor, would fan the flames of an upheaval, or revolution, which might lead to the extinction of Austria, and more especially of Vienna, a traditional centre of learning, art, civilisation, industry and commerce. The menace which threatened Austria was, therefore, a matter which concerned not only Europe but the world at large.

Humanitarian organisations were not slow to realise the doom that threatened the Republic, and a great effort was made by them to ward off, as much as possible, the actual starvation of her population. Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia provided, from time to time, small loans, but these loans, although they gave temporary relief, did not form part of any real economic scheme of assistance with a view to the ultimate recovery of the country.

It soon became evident that if Austria were to survive and not to become a dangerous fester, political as well as physical, in the very heart of Europe, some true economic scheme of relief had to be provided by those who were the guardians of the new political formation of Europe.

It may be well, here, to distinguish between the authors of the political map of Europe since 1918 and the real guardians of that map. The former were those who had drafted the various Peace Treaties, and the latter is, in reality, the special machinery which, in the shape of the League of Nations, was provided, in the Peace Treaties, for that purpose,

as well as for other purposes of international co-operation and peace.

After the Peace Treaties had been signed, the nations which drew them up kept in existence a Committee called the Supreme Council. The Supreme Council represented the authors of the new map of Europe and, although the functions of the Supreme Council were, in many respects, different from those of the League of Nations, yet it frequently undertook tasks which really belonged to the province of the League. This was the case with regard to the economic problem of Austria; and it was not until the Supreme Council had signally failed to achieve any practical results whatever with reference to the salvation of that unhappy country, which stood, literally, on the very brink of utter ruin, that the League of Nations was called in, at the eleventh hour, to come to her rescue.

Towards the end of 1920 the League of Nations had already studied International Credit Schemes for the assistance of impoverished countries, and had come to the conclusion that the one known as the Ter Meulen Scheme was sound and practical and would prove acceptable to business and financial circles.

Thus it was that the League's Council was already in possession of a carefully studied International Credits Scheme when a Conference between the Financial Delegates of the Supreme Council and the Financial Delegates of the Austrian Republic took place in London in the middle of March 1921. The purpose of the Conference, under the chairmanship of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, was to examine the best means of restoring the financial situation of Austria, which was by then almost beyond help. The Conference could find no solution of the pressing problem, and it decided to ask the Financial Committee of the League to

examine the possibility of adapting the International Credits Scheme, approved by the League, to the special requirements of Austria.

On account of the previous consideration which it had already given to the needs of impoverished countries, the League's Financial Committee was able to report without delay. On April 4 the Committee submitted to the Supreme Council a preliminary reply, mentioning the conditions which appeared to it to be necessary before the restoration of Austria's credit could be undertaken, and stating that the Committee was taking steps to collect all the information necessary for the fulfilment of its task. The Committee realised that the application of the Scheme to Austria must depend on the efforts which Austria herself was prepared to make to introduce order into her finances, and to assign acceptable assets as security for the credits to be granted.

The League's Committee sent a Delegation to Vienna to enquire on the spot into the financial and economic conditions of Austria, and to hear the proposals of the Austrian Government. In a definite Report, which it submitted to the Supreme Council, the League's Committee established the possibility of undertaking the relief of Austria, in accordance with a plan drawn up by the Austrian Government with the consent of all the political parties of the country. The Report also indicated that sufficient funds, in the form of temporary loans obtained abroad and securities by Ter Meulen bonds, might be forthcoming when the liens on Austria in favour of certain Governments with regard to reparations, food credits, and the upkeep of the armies of occupation had been suspended.

The Austrian Government's programme for reform, as outlined in the Committee's Commission of Enquiry

in Vienna, was drastic and comprehensive. Internally, it included the complete revision of the Government finances, the issue of an internal loan so as to secure the balancing of the Budget, the establishment of a new and independent Bank of issue, and the reform of the currency. Externally, it contemplated foreign credits for which the Austrian Government would offer sufficient guarantees under international control.

But in order to be able to offer such guarantees, it was necessary to make arrangements whereby these loans could be made a first charge on Austria's assets. This meant persuading Austria's Allied creditors to lift, for a period of not less than twenty years, their liens on her. Great Britain and France agreed immediately. Italy, who considered herself entitled to special claims on Austria, took some persuading before she could be brought to agree, but she finally consented; and the few neutral countries who had lent Austria money for food, or who had supplied the food on credit, expressed their willingness to fall in with the proposed plan. In the case of the United States of America, however, special legislation was required for the purpose, and it was, therefore, well on into 1922 before the liens were completely lifted and the way appeared to be clear for Austria to offer her assets as a first charge security for fresh loans.

Owing to numerous obstacles which the Little Entente States raised, further delay occurred in making definite arrangements to secure the loans. Then came the Genoa Conference, when yet another attempt to clear the path failed; and Austria, whose hopes had been kept alive by the efforts which were being made on her behalf, now grew utterly despondent, and her situation became even more dangerous than it had been before.

But the Austrian Chancellor, notwithstanding the overwhelming difficulties with which he was surrounded, put up a magnificent fight to prevent the disappearance of his country from off the map. Not only did he spare himself no effort, standing continuously in the breach, but he took instant advantage of every single circumstance to keep before the world the tragic state of his country and what its disruption would mean to the reconstruction of Europe. He seized the opportunity given him by the fact that the Supreme Council was meeting in London in August 1922 to address a despairing letter to the Supreme Council depicting in moving terms Austria's terrible situation, and imploring the Council to come to her rescue before it was too late.

By this time all the countries concerned had agreed to suspend their liens on Austria's assets in order to enable her to raise a loan. The yield of these assets was quite sufficient, so long as it continued, to secure the interest on a large loan. But no revenues could be relied upon if Austria fell into social and political chaos, and of this there was by this date the most serious and imminent danger.

The Supreme Council, however, paid but little attention to the matter, which, in fact, was only considered on the last day of its Session. The Council took the view that it had done all it could for Austria; and, presumably more in the hope of hiding from the world its absolute impotence with regard to the Austrian difficulty than in the expectation of any satisfactory result ensuing from its action, the Council decided to call once more on the League for help. And thus it was, after several years of abortive efforts by the Supreme Council, and when Austria herself was practically *in extremis*, that the

Austrian problem was definitely handed to the League of Nations for solution in August 1922.

Notwithstanding the fact that Austria had reached a stage when the prospect of her recovery seemed almost hopeless, the Council of the League set itself to act immediately, and with courage and determination. It started its work supported by the conviction that, since it had been able to settle the Upper Silesian dispute between Germany and Poland after the Supreme Council had entirely failed to do so, there was no reason why it should not succeed in solving the difficulty of Austria's rescue just as capably as it had solved the very thorny question of Upper Silesia.

In approaching the question of the relief of Austria, the League of Nations took a different view-point from that taken by the Supreme Council. The outlook of the Supreme Council, as can be easily imagined, was always influenced by considerations of internal politics; and, indeed, it was the clash of these considerations which made the work of the Supreme Council always difficult, and sometimes impossible.

Freed from the shackles of internal politics, which pulled this way and that way, the problem of the rescue of Austria, when it was taken up by the League of Nations, was brought before a world-tribunal where it could be considered and handled, in a business-like manner, solely in the light of international justice and equity.

The Council of the League, convinced of its ability to prevent the annihilation of a Member-State, set its Finance and Economic and Transit Commissions to work on the various aspects of the Austrian problem. A powerful Central Committee was created whose business it was to push forward the question which,

now, could brook no further delay whatever. This Committee included Lord Balfour (Great Britain), Monsieur Hanotaux (France, ex-Foreign Minister), Marquis Imperiali (Italy, Ambassador in London), Dr. Benes (Czecho-Slovakia, Premier and Foreign Minister), Herr Grunberger (Austria, Foreign Minister), replaced when absent by Monsignor Seipel (Austria, Chancellor).

While the Committee it had set up was hard at work, the League of Nations Council held a sitting, which was thrown open to the public, to deal with the Austrian question. At that sitting, held in the large Committee-room adjoining the hall of the Secretariat at Geneva, the Austrian Chancellor laid the case of his country before the Council, and before the world. It was a tale of desperate woe and of impending disaster, which closed with one ominous sentence: "The Austrian people," declared the Chancellor, "rather than perish in its isolation, will make an utmost final effort to break the chains which imprison and strangle them. It is for the League of Nations to see that that is done without the peace of the world being disturbed, and without relations with neighbouring peoples being imperilled thereby."

M. Motta, Chief Swiss Delegate to the League of Nations, who attended this sitting of the Council, spoke of it, on the following day, at a meeting of the Assembly.

"I was present," he said, "at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations when the eminent Representative of Austria made his statement. I was present as a spectator. I will not conceal from you that I was deeply moved, for rarely, perhaps never, has such a sight been seen—the Representative of a nation appealing to, imploring all the other civilised

nations to give their assistance and to help in restoring confidence in his own country.

"I am profoundly grateful to the Council of the League of Nations for giving its immediate attention to this question, which I consider one of the most important for the peace of Europe and of the world. I do not know on what conditions help can be given to Austria, but it must, in any case, be prompt and effective. It will be necessary to make conditions which will be accepted and carried out. But in my heart I have thanked God for the existence of the League of Nations to which this question could be brought."

Thus was the problem of the relief of Austria posed in public when the League undertook its solution.

From this point, however, the League's Austrian Committee had to proceed with great caution. It had to avoid hurting any susceptibilities, and it had, also, to prevent any premature publication of the plan which was being worked upon, until that plan had been discussed and produced as a complete whole. For this reason, after the meeting of the Council with reference to Austria, all the discussions with regard to the problem itself took place behind closed doors.

While obtaining the expert assistance of the Financial and Economic Committees and of the legal experts, the Austrian Committee of the Council kept in its own hands the specifically political aspects of the problem, and maintained its control over the work of the above Committees by considering interim reports as they proceeded with their studies.

The work of the Austrian Committee of the League's Council was carried on with a view to the simultaneous accomplishment of three distinct aims. In the first place, it was essential to safeguard the political inde-

pendence and political integrity of Austria, and to prevent any of her neighbours from taking advantage of her political helplessness. Secondly, it was necessary to settle with the Austrian Representatives, and with those nations who claimed special rights on Austria, the details of the rigid control which it would be imperative to establish in regard to Austria's internal finances. This control had in view the establishment of most drastic economic reforms, such as increased taxation, a reduction of expenditure, the cessation of currency inflation by the use of paper money, and the dismissal of thousands of superfluous civil servants and railway employees. And, in the third place, it was necessary to find the money with which to keep Austria alive during the two years which, it was estimated, it would take for her to become self-supporting.

The settlement of these various requirements was far from being easy of accomplishment. Difficulty upon difficulty cropped up. Italy, all along, had claimed special interests in regard to Austria, and this position she was only gradually, and reluctantly, induced to abandon. Then, after weeks of continuous and unceasing effort, a deadlock occurred. This arose over the question of control.

The British, French and Czecho-Slovak members of the Committee, together with the Austrians themselves, stood for a single High Commissioner at Vienna, directly representing the League and administering the League's scheme with the sole purpose of making it a success. The Italians, on the other hand, were desirous of quite another system of control. They insisted on the appointment of a Commission of Control, sitting at Vienna, under the chairmanship of Italy's representative, whose members would represent

the Governments of the lending Powers and be directly appointed by them.

When the Assembly concluded its 1922 Session, no decision had, as yet, been arrived at with regard to this matter. But shortly afterwards the two divergent views were reconciled in an ingenious manner. It was decided to appoint a Commission of Control which would sit in Geneva under Italian chairmanship, and to nominate a single High Commissioner who would represent the League in Vienna, and be responsible for the carrying out of the League's scheme.

This result was achieved on October 4, when three Protocols were signed, covering, with their annexes, which included the Financial Committee's report, the whole of the Council's scheme; and these signatures indicated the complete and unreserved assent, to every part of the scheme, of Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria.

The first of these Protocols, signed by all the above Powers and open for the signature of all countries, contains a solemn declaration that the signatories will "respect the political independence, the territorial integrity, and the sovereignty of Austria; that they will seek no special or exclusive economic or financial advantage which would compromise that independence; and that, if the occasion arises, they will refer the matter to the Council of the League and comply with its decisions."

Protocol II, with its annexes, stated the conditions of the guarantee of the loan, the obligations of the guaranteeing Governments, and the powers and duties of the Committee of Control composed of representatives of these Governments. Lastly, Protocol III set out separately the obligations of Austria, and the functions of the Commissioner-General, who was to

collaborate with her in her programme of reform and its execution.

Dr. Zimmermann, former Burgomaster of Rotterdam, was appointed High Commissioner and entered upon his duties on December 15, 1922.

It was not only in its political aspect that great and serious difficulties had to be surmounted with regard to the Austrian problem. On the financial side there stood in the way obstacles just as formidable.

The financial plan, which was successfully put through, was the guarantee of loans amounting to 650,000,000 crowns to Austria. Great Britain, France, Italy and Czecho-Slovakia were each to guarantee 20 per cent., and the other 20 per cent. was to be guaranteed by other Powers, including Belgium and Switzerland. The subscriber to the loan was, therefore, to have not only the security of the assets assigned by Austria, but also the guarantee of a specified Government for each fraction of his loan—in total 100 per cent. guarantee. The guaranteeing Governments themselves would be subject to no cash liability so long as the assigned assets proved sufficient for the service of the loan. The real point was to secure external confidence in Austria's political integrity and independence, so that her tobacco monopoly and customs could be regarded by banking interests as politically as well as economically sound security; this could not be done without effective political guarantees by surrounding Powers. It was the League's ability to obtain these political guarantees which distinguished its authority from that of the Supreme Council.

The prospect of resources from that loan relieved Austria from the necessity of financing herself by the issue of paper money. Such a method of public finance, which had already brought the value of the crown to less than 1/15,000th of its gold value, would,

if further resorted to, have been accompanied, without any doubt, by a precipitous fall of the crown. All efforts at Budget equilibrium would have then proved futile, and a stable basis for the economic life of the country would have disappeared. An essential part, therefore, of the League's scheme was that the issue of paper money by the Government should cease, and, for that purpose, a new Bank of Issue, independent of the Republican Government, should be created and alone have the right of note issue.

In accordance with the League's plan, Austria was required to draw up, within one month of her acceptance of it, "in collaboration either with the Commissioner-General or with such provisional delegation of the Council of the League as may be appointed, a programme of reforms and improvements, to be realised by stages and designed to enable Austria to re-establish a permanent equilibrium of her Budget within two years." The Austrian Government was also required to "lay before the Austrian Parliament a draft law giving, during two years, to any Government which might then be in power, full authority to take all measures within the limits of this programme which in its opinion might be necessary to assure at the end of the period mentioned the re-establishment of the budgetary equilibrium without there being any necessity to seek for further approval from Parliament."

The necessary legislation for these purposes, including the Statutes of the new Bank of Issue, was passed by the Austrian Parliament on November 14, 1922. The inflationary issue of notes by the Austrian Government came to an end on November 18, and the new Bank, with its capital of thirty million gold crowns duly subscribed, opened its doors on January 2, 1923.

Owing to the return of confidence, the supply of foreign currency soon proved largely in excess of the

demand. The “flight *from* the crown” was replaced by a return “flight *to* the crown.” Foreign securities and currencies, previously hoarded, were brought back and converted into crowns.

It is true that, pending the actual securing of the loans contemplated by the League’s scheme, more notes had to be printed. But, unlike those printed up to November 18, 1922, every additional note was covered by its full value in additional reserves of gold or foreign currency. The result was that each of the 4000 milliard notes circulating in January 1923 was better secured than the 3000 milliard notes in the previous November.

Inflation could not, however, have continued without producing its normal ill effects, and internal loans had to be resorted to. By January 16, 1923, the Austrian Government had successfully raised fifty million gold crowns on six-month 8 per cent. Treasury Bonds quoted in dollars and secured on the gross receipts of the Customs and tobacco monopoly, although but a few weeks previously thirty million gold crowns had been raised.

With the aid of these loans, and certain other minor operations, the Government managed to cover the deficit in its revenue up to the end of January 1923.

Austria’s financial situation, at the beginning of February 1923 is clearly summarised by the following Resolutions passed by the League’s Council on the 1st of that month :

(1) The Council recognises and appreciates the substantial results already obtained in carrying out the reforms recommended in the Geneva Protocols. Legislation has been passed to secure the execution of the reconstruction programme; a new Bank of Issue has been founded, inflation

has ceased, the crown has been stabilised, a preliminary and considerable reduction in the number of officials has taken place, while the returns from certain State enterprises and important revenue-producing duties have been increased. Finally, the 1923 Budget has been established within the limits prescribed by the League of Nations.

(2) The Council notes with satisfaction that the Austrian Government and the Austrian public, realising the promise which it gives for the future of Austria, have co-operated in the accomplishment of this programme. The confidence of the public has been shown in the subscription of the necessary capital of the new Bank of Issue and of over fifty million gold crowns to an internal loan before any external loans have been raised. Moreover, there has been an increase in three months of more than 500 per cent. in savings and bank deposits and a large increase in the foreign currencies which serve as a cover for the new Bank of Issue.

(3) These striking facts have confirmed the Council in the belief that the scheme embodied in the Geneva Protocols gives ground for confident hope in the final reconstruction of Austria on condition that the Austrian Government continues to show unrelaxing determination and receives the confidence and continuous support of the people.

(4) The Council notes these results and signs of a return of national self-dependence with the greater satisfaction because it was foreseen by the League of Nations in September 1922 that the effort required from Austria for the maintenance of her economic independence and the restoration of her prosperity required from the whole nation

a spirit of sacrifice and self-denial during the necessary transition period while the reform programme is being put in force.

(5) The Council is in complete agreement with the Commissioner-General, of whose firm action and well-advised recommendations it desires to express its appreciation and approval. The Council fully agrees with him that it is essential that the financial reconstruction of Austria and Budget equilibrium should within two years be an accomplished fact and that the Austrian Government, with the support of the Austrian people, should proceed in the path of reform with rapidity and determination.

(6) The Council is convinced that, in so far as measures of reform are submitted under the constitutional law to the special Cabinet Council, this arrangement should not be used to render less effective the decisions required for the rapid execution of the programme of reform. The Council relies upon the spirit of co-operation and patriotism in the members of the Cabinet Council to assist the Government effectively in the heavy task which it has courageously undertaken. It is only by unceasing energy and united action, by using their rights with a due sense of responsibility, and by giving to and obtaining for the Government all powers which may be necessary that they will crown their efforts with success.

(7) While recognising the considerable reduction in the number of officials which has already been achieved, the Council ought to draw attention to the passage of the Commissioner-General's report in which he points out that a satisfactory continuation of this reduction will only be possible if a radical reorganisation and simplification of the

administrative system is undertaken and if the reforms are carried out with unrelaxing determination and, so far as possible, by the concentration of administrative powers in a single authority.

(8) Finally, the Council regards it as essential that the Austrian Government, with the support of every section and party of the nation, and with the assistance of the Commissioner-General, should set itself to give prompt and adequate effect to the measures of reform contemplated in the Geneva Protocols, which were dictated solely by the desire to safeguard the interests of Austria herself and to restore her to complete prosperity.

In February 1923 the Austrian Government obtained the assent of the League's Committee of Control to negotiate an issue of Treasury Bills amounting to about £3,500,000 redeemable yearly. These short term loans were necessary in order to permit the Government to carry on pending the issue of the much more important long term loan of 650,000,000 crowns contemplated by the League's scheme. These loans, placed in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Stockholm and Switzerland, were easily subscribed. The attraction which they held for financial circles can be gauged by the fact that in the English market, where £1,800,000 was offered,—*i. e.* more than half the total amount of the loans,—the sum was over-subscribed by almost twice the amount required.

The success of the internal Austrian loans showed the return of confidence in Austria herself. The gratifying results of these first external loans reflected the return of confidence of foreign countries in the ultimate recovery of Austria, and proved that the system of guaranteed loans, evolved by the League, was practicable and acceptable to financial circles all over the world.

With the gradual application of the League's reform scheme, which the Austrian Government was, in accordance with its undertaking, faithfully carrying out, there occurred during January and February 1923 a great increase in unemployment, partly due to the fact that Austrian industry was suddenly deprived of the artificial stimulant of a continuously falling exchange. On the other hand, Dr. Zimmermann, the League's Commissioner-General, has, month by month, in his reports to the Council been able to record the favourable effect which the reform of public finance has had upon the general financial life of Austria. Of this the two most striking indications are first the continuous increase in the amounts deposited in banks and savings-banks, and, secondly, the degree of stability which the Austrian crown has reached. In fact the crown has now become one of the most stable currencies in Europe.

The diagrams (Figs 15-18) reproduced from the *Neues Wiener Journal*, show clearly how successful were the measures taken, under the *ægis* of the League, for the financial recovery of Austria.

In March 1923 the Austrian Government applied to the League's Committee of Control, through Dr. Zimmermann, for authority to issue the whole loan contemplated, subject to any reductions that might prove necessary if the guarantees did not suffice to cover 100 per cent. of the full sum.

This authority was given, on April 16, on the following conditions :

- (1) The loan to be a twenty-year loan, redeemable by June 1945;
- (2) Three trustees to be appointed by the League's Council to watch the special interests of the bondholders;

(3) The guaranteeing Governments to deposit collateral security with the National Bank of Switzerland, to be held on behalf of the trustees ;

I. THE STABILISATION OF AUSTRIAN CURRENCY.

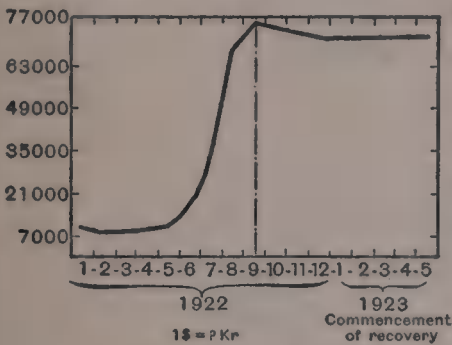


FIG. 15.

Diagram showing the Dollar fluctuations in Vienna. The figures along the vertical margin on the left show the number of paper crowns to one dollar.

II. INFLUENCE OF RECOVERY MEASURES ON PRICES

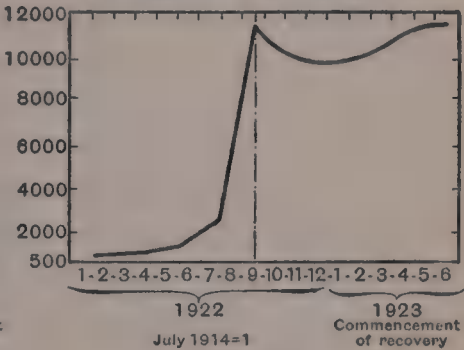


FIG. 16.

Diagram showing the cost of living. The figures along the vertical margin on the left show how many times the cost of living in paper crowns had become relatively to that of July 1914=1.

III. GROWING INTERNAL CONFIDENCE IN THE CROWN.

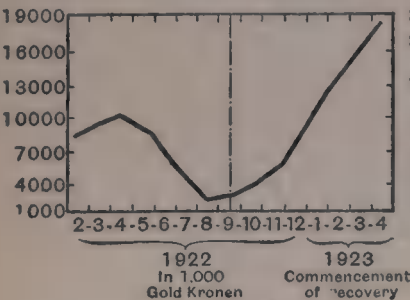


FIG. 17.

Diagram showing the increase in savings bank deposits after restoration of the confidence of the Austrian people in the crown.

IV. SEATE FINANCES SET IN ORDER.

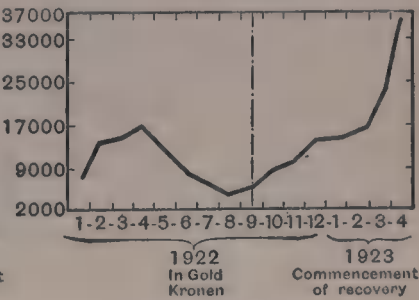


FIG. 18.

Diagram showing the increasing amount of State expenditure in gold crowns.

(4) The loan to be issued, as far as possible, simultaneously, in the different countries in the national currencies of those countries. The issue in Austria to be on a gold basis.

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The guarantees which were actually forthcoming sufficed to give 100 per cent. for a loan, on the above basis, not exceeding 585,000,000 gold crowns in effective yield plus expenses, the guarantee of the various Governments to the subscribers being in the following proportions : ¹

Great Britain	24·5%	Belgium	2%
France	24·5	Sweden	2
Czecho-Slovakia	24·5	Holland	1
Italy	20·5	Denmark	1

The arrangements made for the issue of the full sum of the long term loan of 585,000,000 gold crowns (plus expenses) were as shown in the table below :

Country.	Date of Issue.	Nominal Amount.	Issued at	Rate of Interest.
London (Bank of England)	June 11-14, 1923	£14,000,000 sterling	80	6%
New York (Syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan & Co.)	June 11, 1923	\$25,000,000	90	7%
Vienna	June 1-30, 1923	\$13,000,000	—	—
France (Banque de Paris)	Middle of July, 1923	150,000,000 French francs	—	—
Rome	July, 1923	200,000,000 lire	—	—
Brussels (Société Générale de Belgique)	June 15, 1923	25,000,000 Belgian francs	80	6%
Amsterdam (Hope & Co.)	June 14, 1923	3,000,000 Dutch florins	80	6%
Stockholm (Enskilda Bank)	June 12, 1923	13,110,000 Swedish crowns	80	6%
Geneva (Union Financière)	June 15, 1923	25,000,000 Swiss francs	81	6%

In addition to the loan of 585,000,000 gold crowns issued as shown in the preceding table, the Swiss Government has placed a sum of 20,000,000 gold

¹ These proportions, due to a number of circumstances, vary somewhat from the original proportions contemplated in the League's Scheme.

crowns at the disposal of the Austrian Republic; and Spain, whose guarantee was not ratified in time to be included in the main loan, is similarly inclined to advance Austria 26,000,000 gold crowns. Thus, through the work of the League, Austria will have actually received over 631,000,000 gold crowns (exclusive of flotation expenses), or within 3 per cent. of the total sum contemplated in the League's original scheme.

Even from the purely financial point of view, the League of Nations' loan for the recovery of Austria is unique in the financial operations of the world. The total loan, raised in portions of varying magnitude in nine financial markets in different currencies, was based everywhere upon the same securities. This achievement was made possible because the machinery set up by the League enabled its Committee of Control to maintain, so far as is humanly possible, the value of the securities offered by Austria; and this justified the guaranteeing Governments to deposit, as required, the necessary collateral security.

There is still a concluding chapter to be added to the dramatic and entrancingly interesting story of the re-establishment of Austria. This chapter cannot, however, be written before December 31, 1924. By that date it is confidently anticipated that Austria will find her Budget balanced and her financial position stable and self-supporting. The main burden of Austria's difficult and painful task of internal reform and stringent economy still lies ahead. But judging from the past successful co-operative work of the Austrian Government and people, and of Dr. Zimmermann and his staff, sanguine hope is, in every quarter, expressed that the arduous task of financial and administrative reform still to be accomplished will be brought to a triumphant conclusion.

X

THE DISARMAMENT QUESTION

By H.H. THE MAHARAJAH JAM SAHEB OF NAWANAGAR,
G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

(Delegate of India to the Assembly 1920, 1922 and
1923.)

FOR the most part unacquainted with the wide activities and achievements of the League in directions apparently subsidiary but really quite relevant to the main object of the League, the general public regards Disarmament as the one vital test of the League's efficiency. Not recognising the magnitude and intricacy of the problem or the difficulties consequent on the unexpected duration of instability after the War, people do not appreciate how much necessary and preliminary work has been done in the Disarmament Question.

Article 8 of the Covenant definitely lays it down that plans be formulated by the Council for actually cutting down on a uniform plan the military, naval and air force armaments of the nations belonging to the League; and Article 9, that a Permanent Commission be instituted to advise the Council on such measures. The question was from the start, and still is, a constant preoccupation of the Council. The difficulty has been that the founders of the League contemplated that the Covenant would operate to secure and maintain a world-peace which the other parts of the Treaties would establish antecedently within a reasonable

period. But the antecedent conditions have never yet been realised. Armaments depend upon policy, and policy upon a sum of circumstances. The Covenant contemplated a world in which all States would be within the League co-operating for the common purpose of maintaining peace. The actual position has been very different. As long as the United States, Germany, Russia and Turkey were outside the League it was impossible to establish a plan of universal progressive disarmament together with a frank exchange of military intelligence between States. The world was nervous, suspicious, unstable; the countries bordering on Russia were full of fears and the internal state of Germany was insecure. War broke out between Greece and Turkey and there was unrest in the Moslem world. Above all France was involved in a most unsatisfactory position by the non-fulfilment of the expected guarantee Treaty on the part of the United States and by insistent trouble about the German reparations.

Some months before the first Assembly, the Permanent Armaments Commission of the League held its first meeting. This is a Technical and Expert Advisory Commission of soldiers, sailors and air-men. Its subsequent Report to the Council in August 1920 made recommendations as to: (1) the use of poison gas; (2) the military, naval and air conditions to be accepted by States seeking admission to the League; (3) the control of traffic in arms and ammunition; (4) the Organisation to be instituted by the League for investigations in ex-enemy countries; (5) preliminary enquiries as a basis for proposals for the execution of Article 8.

This Commission has been at work ever since on the extremely difficult technical details of the Disarmament

Question. Technically it has always been very competent and indispensable; but subsequent experience proved that another Committee containing political, economic and financial experts was required.

The first Assembly (1920) instituted an Assembly Committee, known as Committee No. III, to deal exclusively with the question; the Committee of course includes representatives of all Members of the League, and at each session of the Assembly is the Assembly in Committee on Disarmaments.

The main result of the first Assembly's deliberations was the institution by the Council of what is known as the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments; and a Special Section of the Secretariat was also formed to serve as a centre of information and of administrative assistance to the Temporary Mixed Commission, and as a channel for the "full and frank" exchange of information about Armaments as undertaken by members in the Covenant. The Council decided that the Temporary Mixed Commission should produce all evidence and proposals about reduction of Armaments as contemplated in the Covenant and should include "persons of recognised competence in political, social and economical matters, six members of the Permanent Advisory Commission and six members of the governing body of the International Labour Bureau, viz. three Employers' and three Workmen's representatives."

Consequently, in addition to the constant attention given to the Disarmament Question by the Council and the Assembly and its Committee, there have been at work a strong technical international Commission of military, naval and air-force experts, and a strong special international Commission of statesmen and economists combined with the technical experts and a special and highly qualified section of the Secretariat.

The Committees and Secretariat have gathered and elucidated a mass of information and statistics and have explored all kinds of ways and means of executing the objects in view. As their *personnel* is a picked one, on a wide international selection, and as their work has been carried on with a full consciousness that it is the most important service of the League and recognised as such by the Council and Assembly, the probability is that all that could be done has been done.

The second Assembly (1921) passed a number of valuable resolutions indicating the gist of results obtained and suggested useful lines of action, and further instituted various means by which the organs engaged in the question were to be strengthened. Such resolutions have been called academic; so they are in the sense that all investigation and elucidatory treatment of a very large and complicated international question must be; the execution of a complete scheme of disarmament by Governments is yet to come, but it could never come, in a comprehensive and practical form, without such work as has been done by the League. Nobody with less authority than the League could have ever obtained the main requisite data.

His admirers, of whom I am one, claim that the first effective advance towards the formulation of a definite and practicable scheme by the Temporary Mixed Committee between the second and third Assemblies was due to the addition of Lord Robert Cecil to that Committee early in 1922. This is perhaps not quite fair to the necessary and difficult work already done; but what Lord Robert did do was most important; he brought in a plan by which Disarmament might be applied to the present conditions of the world, *i. e.* his suggestion for a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee.

The Temporary Mixed Commission presented to the third Assembly (1922) a long and important Report. The main point was a proposal emanating from Lord Robert Cecil based on the assumptions (1) that no scheme for the reduction of armaments can be successful unless it is general, and (2) that few Governments will be willing to reduce their armaments unless they obtain in exchange a satisfactory guarantee of the safety of their countries.

The plan deduced was based on the principle of a general treaty of mutual guarantee, with the proviso that the benefit of such a Treaty be conditional on reduction of national armaments to a specified maximum. This would involve the formulation of standards of Military Power such as had been suggested by Lord Esher in a scheme considered by the Temporary Mixed Commission.

Another important proposal of the Temporary Mixed Commission's Report was the extension to other naval Powers not represented at the famous Washington Conference of the principles then accepted by the U.S.A., Britain, Japan, France and Italy for the limitation of naval armaments.

In the third place, it was recommended in the Report that the problem of the traffic in Arms and Ammunition should now be considered *de novo*, "with a view to finding the basis of a possible co-operation with the United States." This arose from the impossibility of controlling the private manufacture of arms unless all countries agree to co-operate and from the fact that the U.S.A. had recently refused to ratify the Arms Convention of St. Germain signed by her plenipotentiaries in 1919.

These were the main points before Committee III of the third Assembly, with Lord Robert Cecil's idea

of the Guarantee Treaty in the foreground. The discussions of this Committee, day after day, in the large hall of the Secretariat were attended by crowded audiences, who followed the proceedings with rapt attention. Many Americans were present.

The debate was really confined in its main extent to the broad principles of the Guarantee Treaty: that, of course, was the crux, because it alone presented a means of bridging the gulf between hope and realisation in present circumstances.

It was understood that the Treaty of Guarantee had been the subject of much interest during the sittings of the Temporary Mixed Commission at Paris in July 1922, to Monsieur Henri de Jouvenel, an exceedingly able and leading French politician who is Editor of *Le Matin*, and a Senator. Monsieur de Jouvenel at Geneva took a very prominent part in the Armaments debates, and it was apparent that he saw in the proposed Treaty Scheme a way out of the difficulties inflicted on his country by the loss of the Guarantee Treaty which France had expected from the United States and Britain at the close of the War. He agreed in principle with Lord Robert, but differed vividly as to methods.

Both of them stood for reduction of armaments to be made possible by security obtained from the Treaty of Guarantee. Lord Robert held that the Treaties should be drafted and approved but not become operative till disarmament began. Monsieur de Jouvenel wanted the Treaties to come into force for a certain period before disarmament was attempted. But in the end he accepted the other alternative. Lord Robert was strong that the scheme should be as far as possible universal, with the proviso that obligation to assist a country attacked should "be limited in principle

to those countries situated in the same part of the globe." Monsieur de Jouvenel was equally strong for an arrangement by which the scheme should be at first limited in scope, with reduction of armaments proportionate to the amount of security given by the limited guarantee. Lord Robert opposed this severely on two grounds, first because he thought it impracticable and secondly because he saw a danger of its leading to the very group alliances which had been so largely to blame for the War. There seemed imminent danger of a final division and deadlock over this difference; but a convergence was promoted when Mr. Fisher (Great Britain) explained that he regarded the method proposed as very promising in principle and deserving of exploration, but that he had no authority to support any application in detail such as was involved in Monsieur de Jouvenel's proposal.

Eventually the point at issue was consolidated in these terms:—"As a general reduction of armaments is the object of the preceding resolutions, and as the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee is the means of achieving that object, previous consent to this reduction is therefore the first condition of the Treaty. This reduction could be carried out better by means of a general Treaty, which is the most desirable plan, or by means of partial treaties designed to be extended and open to all countries."

When it appeared that the Assembly Committee had completed this part of its agenda, Lord Robert Cecil requested that a resolution be added to those accepted and be incorporated in the Committee's Report to the Assembly. The thesis of his proposal was that: (1) without moral disarmament material disarmament is impossible; (2) the greatest obstacle to real peace is the economic condition of Europe;

(3) Inter-Governmental debts, whether reparations, relief credits or war debts, constitute a problem which it is essential to solve before the economic life of Europe can be restored. The point was to suggest that the League should face the problem of reparations as well as the problem of disarmament.

At the next meeting a more definite resolution was substituted as moved by Monsieur de Jouvenel. It proposed that the Assembly should, for reasons shortly recited, express "the hope that, in so far as these questions can be regulated by the unaided efforts of the European Nations, the Governments . . . will achieve as soon as possible a general settlement of the problem of reparations and inter-Allied debts," and that "the Council shall devote constant attention to every effort made in this direction by the Governments concerned, it being understood that it can only usefully assist in the solution of these problems if requested to do so by the Governments in question."

The importance of this resolution is that it was drafted with the approval of Monsieur Poincaré. It was characterised by Mr. Fisher as a postern-gate through which the League might be called in to act. The idea is that, should there be continuous failure to settle the reparations question, the League has in effect offered to undertake the task.

The importance of the final resolutions passed by the third Assembly is that they present a practicable and elaborated scheme for Disarmament which can be applied as soon as circumstances render Disarmament possible. The advance made cannot be appreciated unless it is realised that the resolutions have the fully considered approval of the accredited representatives of fifty-two nations and presumably represent the principles acceptable to all their Governments.

The League cannot by itself reduce armaments; its task is to persuade and enable Governments to do so.

The main business of the fourth Assembly (1923) in the Disarmament Question is to consider and approve the draft of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee upon the details of which the special commissions and the Council have been working. This Treaty in its final form will be circulated to Governments for their consideration and, of course, published so that all people of all nations may form their opinions.

The idea that the nations will suddenly with one accord agree to disarm is a mere chimera. It is true that disarmament is the one and only sure security for peace. But this will come, when it does come, not by a sudden and dramatic *volte-face*, but by a gradual and well-considered limitation of armaments.

The procedure of the League may appear to many people as slow and tentative. But in this paramount question the League has taken the only practical road; it has dealt with facts and with things as they are; holding before it the great ideal, it has eschewed sentiment and fancy and has trodden the path of reality. It is the only way.

TREATY OF MUTUAL GUARANTEE

The following is a summary, issued by the League of Nations Union, of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Guarantee :

The Work of the T.M.C.—At the meeting of the Temporary Mixed Commission on Armaments held in Paris at the beginning of August the draft of the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee was adopted for presentation to the Assembly.

The proposed treaty does not *at present commit any of the Governments concerned*, although the Commission in the course of its discussions has taken into account opinions which have been conveyed to it by several nations. The aim of the Commission has been to carry out in letter and spirit the instructions given to it by the

Assembly of the League last year (1922), to lay down the principles of the relations between a plan of mutual guarantees and the reduction of armaments.

The draft in its preamble declares that the high contracting parties, "desirous of establishing the basis of an organisation of mutual guarantees in order to permit the reduction of national armaments, have established the present Treaty." Security which is the condition precedent to disarmament, is established by a general treaty of guarantees. This general Treaty *may be reinforced by special agreements complementary to the general Treaty*, and in conformity with its principles. Once this system of general and special guarantees has been established, each nation will be able to estimate the value of the security which it affords them and present to the League of Nations such proposals for the reduction of its armaments as may be deemed possible.

The nations will, in addition, undertake to co-operate in any general plan of armament reduction which the Council of the League, taking into consideration the information thus furnished by the States, may propose in execution of the terms of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League. This plan will be submitted to the examination and decision of the Governments, and, if approved by them, will form the basis of the contemplated reduction.

The contracting States will pledge themselves to effect the reduction within two years from the date of the approval of the plan. The pledges of security contained in the treaty will permit the States to reduce their armaments, it being understood that that *reduction of armaments is the necessary condition for the effective operation of the guarantees of security*. For that purpose the proposed treaty contains a series of articles relating to the aid which all the Powers, members of the League of Nations, undertake mutually to give each other in case one of them, after having reduced its armaments in conformity with the treaty, is the victim of aggression.

These articles define clearly the powers which are given to the Council of the League during the period in which one of the contracting parties is menaced with aggression. In a case where, in spite of the moral weight of the Council exercised on a State suspected of aggressive intentions, an attack is begun the Council will decide without delay which State is the aggressor, and all the economic and military measures provided for in the treaty will at once be enforced against the aggressor State.

Then follow articles which relate to the defensive agreements which, within the framework of the general treaty and as a method of giving effect to it, any two States or a larger number may conclude among themselves. The characteristic of these agreements is that, being only a method of applying the general treaty, they must be submitted to and recognised by the Council of the League in conformity with the principles of the Treaty and of the Covenant of the League.

The Commission was unanimous on the character which it was intended to give to the treaty, but there were divergencies of view on the question of the application of the general treaty by the method of special defensive agreements. The desire was, therefore, strongly expressed to effect by means of mutual guarantees a reduction of armaments, and the general wish to prevent wars and aggression was insisted upon. There was hope that the provisions of the treaty would have the result of exercising such pressure on any State that dreams of aggression as to constrain it, in the period of tension which always precedes war, to renounce its intention. The moral force given to the Council of the League of Nations ought to enable it to settle peacefully all the disputes which by virtue of the treaty and covenant must be submitted to its arbitration.

XI

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Full text)

RE-ARRANGED IN HOMOGENEOUS GROUPS
OF PROVISIONS, PRESENTED IN LOGICAL SUCCESSION.

THE Covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Part I of the main Treaties drawn up by the Representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers at the Peace Conference at Paris at the conclusion of the Great War of 1914-18. It is Part I, therefore, of the Treaties of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and

- (1) Germany, signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919;
- (2) Austria, signed at St. Germain-en-Laye, September 10, 1919;
- (3) Bulgaria, signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine, November 27, 1919;
- (4) Hungary, signed at Trianon, June 4, 1920;

as well as of the unratified and therefore inoperative Treaty between the Powers and Turkey, signed at Sèvres on August 10, 1920.

The Covenant took effect from the date of the deposit of the instrument of Ratification of the Treaty of Versailles by the Representatives of Germany on January 10, 1920.

Besides the Covenant of the League of Nations, there is only one other part of the above-mentioned Peace Treaties which appears identically in them all—the part devoted to the international organisation of

labour. Article 23, Clause (a) of the Covenant states that Members of the League

“ will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations.”

The organisation here foreshadowed was considered by the Peace Conference, which, accordingly, drafted a Labour Section and incorporated it as Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, and as Parts XIII, XII, XIII and XII respectively of the Treaties of St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon and Sèvres.

As stated in Chapter II, the Covenant, being designed as a legal document for practical purposes and not for logical exposition, its heterogeneous provisions require analysis on purely logical lines in order to obtain a clear grasp of their significance. Consequently, they have been re-arranged in homogeneous Groups easily surveyed and memorised; and the Groups have been set forth in logical sequence, so that the reader may easily assimilate them as a whole. These Groups are as follows :

Group I. PURPOSE AND MEMBERSHIP.—In this Group are contained the Provisions of the Covenant relating to the Purpose and Membership of the League. (Pp. 142–44.)

Group II. EXECUTIVE MACHINERY.—In this Group are embodied the Provisions establishing the Executive Machinery of the League: Assembly, Council and Secretariat. (Pp. 145–47.)

Group III. WORKING OF EXECUTIVE MACHINERY.—In this Group are tabulated the Provisions for working the Executive Machinery of the League; and dealing with: Time, Place and Scope of Work; Amendments (to Covenant); Qualifications for Officials; Diplomatic Immunities; and the Financing of the Work. (Pp. 147–53.)

Group IV. SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.—In this Group are given the Provisions for the Settlement of Disputes through Enquiry and Report, Mediation, Arbitration, Judicial Settlement. (Pp. 153–60.)

Group V. SUPPRESSION OF WAR.—In this Group are set forth the Provisions for the Suppression of War; the Reduction of Armaments; the Suppression of Trade in Arms; the Penalisation of War, of Aggression, of Treaty-breaking. (Pp. 160–65.)

Group VI. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN PEACE ACTIVITIES.—This Group embraces the Provisions for promoting International Co-operation in Peace Activities relating to Mandates; Protection of Minorities; Commerce and Communications; Reconstruction; Labour; Health; Red Cross; Suppression of Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs, and in Women and Children; Direction of all International Bureaux by League. (Pp. 165–70.)

Group VII. INTERNATIONAL LAW.—In this Group are concentrated the Provisions for establishing, standardising, developing and administering International Law, according to the Principles expressed in the Preamble and dealing with the Registration of Treaties; the Revision of Treaties; the Determining of New Treaties; the Interpretation of Treaties; the Observance of Treaties; and the Permanent Court of International Justice. (Pp. 170–72.)

GROUP I. PURPOSE AND MEMBERSHIP.

Note.—The numbers of Articles mentioned below are the corresponding numbers of the Articles of the Covenant.

The word "Section" followed by a number refers to the corresponding number in square brackets at the head of each division of the various Groups and facilitates cross-references.

[1] Purpose.

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war;

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations;

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations. (The Preamble.)

[2] Membership.

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretaria

within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal. (Article 1).

(See also Section 12, Article 26 (Par. *d*) as amended.)

[3] *States qualified to be Original Members.*

Signatories of the Treaty of Peace :

U.S. of America	Cuba	Nicaragua
Belgium	Ecuador	Panama
Bolivia	France	Peru
Brazil	Greece	Poland
British Empire	Guatemala	Portugal
Canada	Haiti	Roumania
Australia	Hedjaz	Serb-Croat-Slovene
South Africa	Honduras	State
New Zealand	Italy	Siam
India	Japan	Czecho-Slovakia
China	Liberia	Uruguay

(Annex I)

States invited to accede to the Covenant :

Argentine Republic	Norway	Sweden
Chile	Paraguay	Switzerland
Colombia	Persia	Venezuela
Denmark	Salvador	
Netherlands	Spain	

(Annex I.)

[4] First Secretary-General of the League.

The Honourable Sir James Eric Drummond,
K.C.M.G., C.B. (Annex II.)

[5] Membership in 1923.

The membership, as indicated in Annex giving
the Allocation of Expenses, is as follows :

Albania	Finland	Panama
Argentina	France	Paraguay
Australia	Greece	Persia
Austria	Guatemala	Peru
Belgium	Haiti	Poland
Bolivia	Honduras	Portugal
Brazil	Hungary	Roumania
British Empire	India	Salvador
Bulgaria	Italy	Serb-Croat-Slovene
Canada	Japan	State
Chile	Latvia	Siam
China	Liberia	South Africa
Colombia	Lithuania	Spain
Costa Rica	Luxemburg	Sweden
Cuba	Netherlands	Switzerland
Czecho-Slovakia	New Zealand	Uruguay
Denmark	Nicaragua	Venezuela
Esthonia	Norway	

(Annex III, addition to Amended Annex.)

Note.—The full text of Annex III is given in Section
14.

GROUP II. EXECUTIVE MACHINERY

[6] *Executive Machinery.*

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat. (Article 2.)

[7] *The Assembly.*

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League. (Article 3, Par. a.)

At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives. (Article 3, Par. d.)

[8] *The Council.*

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be Members of the Council; the

Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council. (Article 4, Pars. *a* and *b*.)

Note.—In September 1922, the Third Assembly raised the number of non-permanent Members of the Council to six.

Note.—The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a Member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative. (Article 4, Pars. *e* and *f*.)

[9] *The Permanent Secretariat.*

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The Secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council. (Article 6, Pars. *a-d*.)

GROUP III. WORKING OF EXECUTIVE MACHINERY

[10] *Time, Place and Scope of Work.*

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. (Article 3, Pars. *b* and *c*.)

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. (Article 4.)
(See also Section 43, Article 14.)

[11] *Voting and Procedure.*

Voting—Unanimous.

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly

or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting. (Article 5, Par. a.)

Exceptions to Unanimous Vote.

Assembly : Election of Members.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly. (Article 1, Par. b.)

Council : Election of Members.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be Members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council. (Article 4, Par. b.)

Assembly : Election of Council.

The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility. (Article 4 as amended.)

Council : Election of Secretary-General.

The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly. (Article 6, Par. b.)

Council : Disputes between Members.

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. . . .

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto. (Article 15, Pars. *a* and *d*.)

The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. (Article 15, Par. *i*.)

Assembly : Disputes between Members.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. . . .

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute. (Article 15, Pars. *i* and *j*.)

(See also Section 12, Article 26, as amended, and Article 5, Par. *b*, below.)

Procedure.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America. (Article 5, Pars. *b* and *c*.)

(See also Section 9, Article 6, Par. *c*.)

[12] *Amendments.*

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League. (Article 26.)

Article 26, as amended, reads :

Amendments to the present Covenant the text of which shall have been voted by the Assembly on a three-fourths majority, in which there shall be included the votes of all the Members of the Council represented at the meeting, will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives

composed the Council when the vote was taken and by the majority of those whose Representatives form the Assembly.

If the required number of ratifications shall not have been obtained within twenty-two months after the vote of the Assembly, the proposed amendment shall remain without effect.

The Secretary-General shall inform the Members of the taking effect of an amendment.

Any Member of the League which has not at that time ratified the amendment is free to notify the Secretary-General within a year of its refusal to accept it, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

(See also Note, Section 14.)

[13] Seat ; Qualifications for Officials ; Immunities.

The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable. (Article 7.)

[14] *Financing of Secretariat.*

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union. (Article 6, Par. e.)

Note.—In its Plenary Meeting of September 30, 1922, the Assembly unanimously decided to amend the above Article and to substitute for it the following scale for the Allocation of Expenses of the League :

SCALE FOR THE ALLOCATION OF THE EXPENSES OF THE
LEAGUE FOR THE YEAR 1923.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Units.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Units.</i>
Albania	1	Brought forward	599
Argentine	(35)	Japan	73
Australia	26	Latvia	5 - 2 = 3
Austria	1	Liberia	1
Belgium	20 - 5 = 15	Lithuania	5 - 1 = 4
Bolivia	5	Luxemburg	1
Brazil	35	Netherlands	20
British Empire	95	New Zealand	10
Bulgaria	7	Nicaragua	1
Canada	35	Norway	11
Chile	15	Panama	1
China	65	Paraguay	1
Colombia	7	Persia	10 - 4 = 6
Costa Rica	1	Peru	10
Cuba	9	Poland	25
Czecho-Slovakia	35	Portugal	10
Denmark	12	Roumania	40 - 9 = 31
Esthonia	5 - 2 = 3	Salvador	1
Finland	10	Serb-Croat-Slovene	
France	95 - 17 = 78	State	35 - 9 = 26
Greece	10	Siam	10
Guatemala	1	South Africa	15
Haiti	2	Spain	40
Honduras	1	Sweden	18
Hungary	4	Switzerland	15
India	65	Uruguay	7
Italy	73 - 12 = 61	Venezuela	5

Carried forward 599

944

(Appendix III, amended.)

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League. (Article 24, Par. c.)

GROUP IV. SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

[15] *Disputes to be submitted to Arbitration or Enquiry.*

The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute. (Article 12.)

Article 12, as amended, reads :—

The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or *judicial settlement* or to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or *the judicial decision*, or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article, the award of the arbitrators, *or the judicial decision*, shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

[16] Arbitration of Disputes.

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a Treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto. (Article 13.)

Article 13, as amended, reads :

The Members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration *or judicial settlement*.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a Treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration *or judicial settlement*.

For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award *or decision* that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against any Member of the League that complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award *or decision*, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

[17] Permanent Court of International Justice.

. . . The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international

character which the parties thereto submit to it. (Article 14, part of.)

[18] Disputes not submitted to Arbitration by Members.

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. (Article 15, Par. a.)

Article 15. The first paragraph, as amended, reads :

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration *or judicial settlement* in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to a dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of

that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute. (Article 15.)

[19] *Disputes with Non-Members or between Non-Members.*

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such

invitation is accepted, the provision of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed, by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the Members

thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute. (Article 17.)

GROUP V. SUPPRESSION OF WAR

[20] Reduction of Armaments.

The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions

and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purpose. (Article 8.)

[21] *Suppression of Trade in Arms.*

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League :

(*d*) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest. (Article 23, Pars. 1 and *d*.)

[22] *Permanent Armaments Commission.*

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally. (Article 9.)

[23] *Guarantees against Aggression :*

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled. (Article 10.)

[24] Action in case of War or Danger of War.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends. (Article 11.)

[25] Penalties for Members making War.

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the Covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any Covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon. (Article 16.)

Article 16, as amended, reads :

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all

intercourse between persons residing in their territory and persons residing in the territory of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between persons residing in the territory of the covenant-breaking State and persons residing in the territory of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It is for the Council to give an opinion whether or not a breach of the Covenant has taken place. In deliberations on this question in the Council, the votes of the Member of the League alleged to have resorted to war and of Members against whom such action was directed shall not be counted.

The Council will notify to all Members of the League the date which it recommends for the application of the economic pressure under this Article.

Nevertheless, the Council may, in the case of particular Members, postpone the coming into force of any of these measures for a specified period where it is satisfied that such a postponement will facilitate the attainment of the object of the measures referred to in the preceding paragraph, or that it is necessary in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience which will be caused to such Members.

[26] *Penalties for Non-Members making War.*

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the

obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. . . .

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute. (Article 17, Par. *a*, part of Pars. *c* and *d*.)

GROUP VI. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN PEACE ACTIVITIES

[27] Mandates : Duties and Rights.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the Mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and

will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above-mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of Mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council. (Article 22, Pars. *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h.*)

[28] *Permanent Commission for Mandates.*

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates. (Article 22, Par. *i.*)

[29] *Treatment of Native Populations.*

. . . the Members of the League :
undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control.
(Article 23, Par. *b.*)

[30] Commerce and Communications.

. . . the Members of the League :
will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. (Article 23, Par. e, part of.)

[31] Reconstruction (with reference to the above).

. . . . In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind. (Article 23, Par. e, part of.)

[32] International Labour Organisation.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League :

will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations. (Article 23, Pars. 1 and a.)

[33] Health.

. . . the Members of the League :
will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease. (Article 23, Par. f.)

[34] *The Red Cross.*

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world. (Article 25).

[35] *Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children and Control of Traffic in Dangerous Drugs.*

. . . the Members of the League :
will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. (Article 23, Par. c.)

[36] *Direction of all International Bureaux.*

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general Treaties if the parties to such Treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render

any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League. (Article 24.)

GROUP VII. INTERNATIONAL LAW

[37] Registration of Treaties.

Every Treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such Treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered. (Article 18.)

[38] Revision of Treaties.

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of Treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world. (Article 19.)

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof. . . .

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have

undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations. (Article 20, Par. *a*, part of, and Par. *b*.)

[39] *Determining of New Treaties.*

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted . . . and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. (Article 20, Par. *a*, part of.)

[40] *Interpretation of Treaties.*

Disputes as to the interpretation of a Treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to Arbitration. (Article 13, Par. *b*.)

[41] *Observance of Treaties.*

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security.

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and
by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all Treaty obligations in

the dealings of organised peoples with one another,
agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations. (Preamble, Pars. *a*, *d*, *e*, *f*.)

[42] *Validity of Treaties.*

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as Treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace. (Article 21.)

[43] *The Permanent Court of International Justice.*

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly. (Article 14.)

APPENDIX I

LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETIES

- America, United States of.* The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, East 37th Street, New York City.
League of Nations Union of the U.S.A., Woolworth Building, New York.
Women's Pro-League Council, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York.
- Argentina.* Asociacion Argentina Pro Liga de las Naciones, Calle Tucuman 854, Buenos Aires.
- Australia.*
S. Australia : Industrial Buildings, 55 King William Street, Adelaide. (Sec., Miss M. Darley Naylor.)
New South Wales : University Chambers, 169 Philip Street, Sydney.
Victoria : 12 Collins Street, Melbourne. (Sec., Dr. Mark Gardner, M.G.)
Queensland : Lieut. E. G. Gall, Box 421, G.P.O., Brisbane.
T. G. Melrose, Esq., Flinders Street West, Townsville.
Tasmania : Lieut. D. Jacob, Montrose Road, Glenorchy, Tasmania.
- Austria.* Oesterreichische Voelkerbundliga, Elisabethstrasse 9, Vienna, I.
- Belgium.* Association Belge pour la Société des Nations, 100 Rue du Bailli, Brussels. (Sec., M. Henri Rollin.)
Union Internationale des Associations pour la Société des Nations. (Sec., Prof. Th. Ruyssen, 2 Dreve des Volubilis, Watermael, Brussels.)
- Bulgaria.* Société Unie Bulgare pour la Société des Nations, 1 Rue Tetevenska, Sofia.
- Canada.* League of Nations Society in Canada. (Sec., H. G. Richardson, Esq., 209 Hope Chambers, Ottawa.)
- China.* Association Chinoise pour la Société des Nations, Si-tu-zu, Hutung, Peking.
- Czecho-Slovakia.* Association Tchecoslovaque pour la Société des Nations, Václavské Nemesti 15, Prague.
Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund in Tchechoslovkien. (Sec., Mlle. Maria Hull, 3 Mezibrenska, Prague.)
- Denmark.* Danske Fredovosening, Forchammerevey 10, Copenhagen.

- Esthonia.* The League of Nations Society, c/o Mr. Birk, Tallin, Reval.
- France.* Fédération des Associations Françaises pour la Société des Nations, 3 Rue le Goff, Paris (V^e).
- Finland.* Société Finlandaise "Pro Jure Nationum" Nervander-gaten 10, Helsingfors.
- Georgia.*
- Germany.* Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund, Shoeneberger Ufer 36a 1, Berlin, W. 35.
- Great Britain.* League of Nations Union.
This is a BRITISH Voluntary Organisation whose aim is to educate and to make effective public opinion concerning the League of Nations. It already possesses nearly 1,500 branches and 300,000 members throughout Great Britain. The following are the terms of membership.
An Annual Subscription of at least £1 entitles a member to *Headway*, the journal of the Union, and to all pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union.
An Annual Subscription of at least 3s. 6d. entitles a member to receive *Headway* regularly by post.
The Minimum Subscription is one shilling.
The Author of this book strongly recommends all who are interested in the League to join.
Headquarters: 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W. 1.
Scottish National Council, 213 West George Street, Glasgow.
Welsh National Council, 6 Cathedral Road, Cardiff.
- Greece.* Ligue Hellenique pour la Société des Nations, Rue Tricor-fon 6, Athens.
- Haiti.* Société Haitienne pour la Société des Nations, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.
- Holland.* De Vereeniging voor Volkerenbond en Vrede, Jan van Nassaustraet 93, The Hague.
- Hungary.* Magyar Külügyi Társaság, Budapest-Orszaghaz, Buda-pest.
- Italy.* Lega Universale per la Società delle Libere Nazioni, Corso Vittorio Emanuele 8, Milan.
- Japan.* League of Nations Association of Japan, Uchiyamashita-Cho 1, Kojimachi-Ku, Tokio.
(European Representative: Viscount Mushakoji, Japanese Embassy, 1 Boulevard Militaire, Brussels.)
- Latvia.* M. Paul Shiesann, Desplatz No. 5, Riga.
- Lithuania.* The Lithuanian League of Nations Union, Dauaknto Gtve 5, Kovno. (Sec., Rev. A. Dambrauskas.)
- New Zealand.*
Dunedin: D. Colquhoun, Esq., Board of Trade, Princes Street, Dunedin.
Auckland: R. Beaton, Esq., Auckland University College, Auckland.

- Palmerston N.* : Mr. Murray, Boys' High School, Palmerston N.
Napier : Rev. J. A. Asher, Napier.
Havelock N. : Mr. David Ritchie, Havelock North.
Gisbourne : Thos. Todd, Esq., Balance Street, Whatampoko, Gisbourne.
Rotorua : G. Munt, Esq., Penton Street, Rotorua.
Wellington : Rev. G. Inglis, Wellington.
Christchurch : Rev. J. J. North, Christchurch.
Invercargill : Councillor Farrant, Invercargill.
Timaru : Mr. Thomas, The Boys' High School, Timaru.
Omaru : Archdeacon J. D. Russell, The Vicarage, Timaru.
Norway. Den Norske Forening for Nationernes Liga, Universitet, Kristiania.
Persia. Association Persane pour la Société des Nations, Teheran.
Poland. Association Polonaise pour la Société des Nations, c/o Dr. J. Polak, Nowogrodaka 82, Warsaw.
Portugal. Sociedade Portuguesa para a Liga das Nações, 20 Rue S. Sebastião das Taipas, Lisbon.
Roumania. Association Roumaine pour la Société des Nations, 33 Alexandre Lahovary, Bucarest.
Russia. Association Nationale Russe pour la Société des Nations, 9 Rue Emile Augier, Paris (XVI^e). (Pres., A. Briant-chaminoff.)
 Association Russe pour la Société des Nations, 5^{ter} Rue du Dome, Paris. (Pres., Avxentieff.)
South Africa.
Johannesburg : J. C. Merkin, Esq., 33 *a* and *b*, Ægis Buildings, Loveday Street, Johannesburg.
Pretoria : Rev. S. N. Bishop, The Vicarage, Arcadia, Pretoria.
Grahamstown : C. T. Campion, Esq., 2 Artillery Road, Grahams-town.
Spain. Association Nationale pour la Société des Nations, c/o Count Romanones, Cortes, Madrid.
Sweden. Svenska Föreningen för Nationernas Förbund, Norra Smedjegatan 21, Stockholm.
Switzerland. Association Nationale Suisse pour la Société des Nations, Laupenstrasse 27, Berne.
Turkey. Association Nationale Ottomane pour la Société des Nations, Rue Diven Yolu, Constantinople.
Ukraine. League of Nations Union of East Ukraine, Argentinierstr. 29, Vienna, IV. (Sec., M. W. Wadowski.)
Yugoslavia. Association Nationale Yugoslave pour la Société des Nations, Rue Liubieins 32, Belgrade. (Sec., Dr. Vessa Yovanovitch.)

APPENDIX II

LEAGUE OF NATIONS OFFICIAL PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE ORGANISATION (LEAGUE OF NATIONS)

Records of the Plenary Meetings of the Assembly. Published yearly (English and French Texts). Price varies, approximately 30s. to 35s. per volume.

Records of the Meetings of the Assembly Committees. Published yearly in 2 vols. (English and French Texts). Price varies, approximately 15s. to 20s. per volume.

Minutes of the Sessions of the Council (English and French Texts). No definite date of publication. Price per volume varies from 3s. to 30s.

Monthly Bulletin of Statistics (English and French Texts). Annual Subscription (post free), 18s. net. Single numbers, 1s. 6d. net.

Epidemiological Intelligence. Published approximately every month. Price per copy varies from 1s. to 1s. 6d.

The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations. Published in separate editions in English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish. Annual Subscription (post free), 6s. net. Single numbers, 6d. net. All Supplements free to subscribers.

Official Journal. Published in separate editions in English and French. Contains the complete minutes of the session of the Council of the League of Nations, the text of the Reports and Resolutions adopted by the Council, as well as the principal official documents received or despatched by the Secretariat of the League. Annual Subscription (post free), 60s. net. All subscriptions must date from January to December.

Special Supplements to the official Journal are issued from time to time, at varying prices.

Quarterly Bulletin of Information on the Work of International Organisations. Compiled by the International Bureaux Section of the Secretariat. Annual Subscription, 5s. Single Numbers, 1s. 3d.

No record of international Labour bodies is included in this Bulletin, as these are dealt with in the publications issued by the International Labour Organisation.

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Official Bulletin. Published weekly in English, French and German. Annual Subscription, £1, post free.

Industrial and Labour Information. Weekly. Annual Subscription (including Russian Supplement), £1, post free.

International Labour Directory. Published annually at 11s. 6d., post free.

Legislative Series. Annual Subscription, £1, post free.

Documents of International Labour Conference. English and French Texts. Annual Subscription, £2, post free.

Studies and Reports. Annual Subscription, £1 5s., post free.

Note.—The subscriptions to all the periodical publications of the International Labour Office amount together to a total sum of £9 0s. 6d., which will be reduced to £8 per annum for an inclusive subscription covering all publications issued by the Office in the course of the year, with the exception of the *Special Reports*.

A special subscription of £1 15s. covers the *International Labour Review*, *Industrial and Labour Information* and the *Russian Supplement*.

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